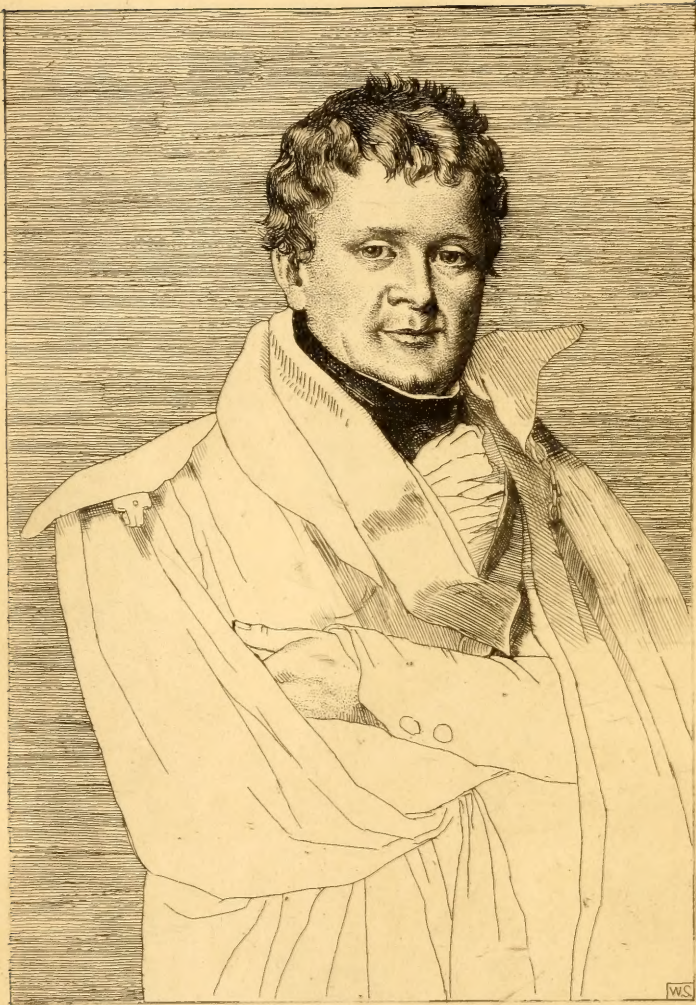


DANIEL O'CONNELL

VOL. I.

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Daniel O'Connell

CORRESPONDENCE
OF
DANIEL O'CONNELL

THE LIBERATOR

EDITED WITH NOTICES OF HIS LIFE AND TIMES

By W. J. FITZPATRICK, F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE OF BISHOP DOYLE'
'LIFE AND TIMES OF LORD CLONCURRY' ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

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'Once to my sight the giant thus was given,
Walled by wide air, and roofed by boundless heaven:
Beneath his feet the human ocean lay,
And wave on wave flowed into space away.
Methought no clarion could have sent its sound
E'en to the centre of the hosts around;
And, as I thought, rose the sonorous swell,
As from some church-tower swings the silvery bell;
Aloft and clear from airy tide to tide
It glided easy, as a bird may glide.
To the last verge of that vast audience sent,
It played with each wild passion as it went.'

(SIR EDWARD LYTTON BULWER'S *description of O'Connell
as an orator.*)

P R E F A C E.

It has been remarked by the historian Lecky that ‘whoever turns over the magazines or newspapers of the period must at once perceive how grandly O’Connell’s figure dominated in politics—how completely he had dispelled the indifference that had so long prevailed on Irish questions—how clearly his agitation stands forth as the great event of the time.’

D’Aubigné says that ‘the only man like Luther—in the power he wielded—was O’Connell.’ But Luther was never Master of Cabinets and a great personality in the government of an Empire. The political power of Napoleon has often been compared to that of O’Connell; but ‘the uncrowned monarch of Ireland,’ without the effusion of a drop of blood, governed a people more absolutely than Napoleon did, was idolised while he ruled, and received a ‘Tribute’ envied by kings.

Mr. Fagan, M.P., a biographer of O’Connell, describes him as ‘the greatest man this or any other country ever produced.’ This statement may be open to question: however, the truth of Greville’s words will, at least, be recognised: ‘History will speak of him as one of the most remarkable men who ever existed; he will fill a great space in its pages; his position was unique; there never was before, and there never will be again, anything at all resembling it.’¹

¹ *Greville Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 386, Vic.

The secret thoughts and acts of one who played a part so important cannot be without interest to the reader, or value to the historian. My purpose has been to discover and preserve a record of those thoughts, not to write a detailed life of the Liberator, which has been already done by various hands.

The letters of O'Connell here embraced—with the exception, perhaps, of some to Dr. MacHale published by Miss Cusack—are unknown to his biographers, and show the frequent inaccuracies of their detail. Persons who are aware that various interesting letters, headed 'The O'Connell Papers,' appeared in an Irish serial,¹ may confound the two undertakings. But they are utterly different in their character. In the case of the magazine, the editor found ready to his hand a selection from such letters addressed to O'Connell by friends and strangers as the recipient happened to preserve. My labours in collecting the letters *written by* O'Connell began more than twenty years ago. A gifted daughter of his had previously attempted the task, but failed. The most important portion of the correspondence was confined to a few who guarded it as a sacred deposit; and in more than one instance death had to be waited for ere I could hope to acquire the coveted treasure.

'This is a mere collection of letters,' some readers may exclaim. It would be far easier for me to write a 'Life of O'Connell' than to amass the literary wealth here presented. No one but he who has himself tried can form an idea of the toil involved in this effort. The apathy, the prejudices, the scruples, the narrow fears and objections, the false sense of etiquette that have to be argued against and overcome, are obstacles and worries unknown to the popular author, who throws off his books *currente calamo*. The tardily given promise to search for and furnish letters

¹ *The Irish Monthly*.

is too often succeeded by procrastination; and when certain packets of papers are at last opened to me, and the best parts carefully transcribed, permission to publish has then to be obtained from other parties who claim to have a joint ownership in the letters, attended by a new and tedious correspondence full of the old difficulties; the whole suggestive almost of the labour of Sisyphus.

To explain, by copious notes, passages or allusions, often designedly obscure, necessitated an examination of the newspapers of the day, reference to the archives of contemporary statesmen and politicians, and to other out-of-the-way sources. In most collections of letters notes are few, as critics have not failed trenchantly to point out. Many of my notes have been more than once recast, and for this reason—it was not easy to read O'Connell's fevered words without catching contagion from them; and though a certain warmth would not be deemed, perhaps, much out of place or surprising in one whose mind has been long saturated with O'Connell's correspondence, I thought it well to confine my comments within strictly historic lines.

As regards O'Connell's own language, his style is so well known that probably no apology is needed for its strength. No man was more fiercely denounced by him than Lord Cloncurry, who, in a public letter to Smith O'Brien in 1847, said: 'These outbursts were a part of his nature, otherwise so kindly and so good.' Cloncurry added that, throughout the fiercest of these sallies, he always loved O'Connell. Political feeling ran high at that day; and O'Connell's words are indeed not more strong than the language employed by the highest Tory organs, notably the *Quarterly*, *Blackwood*, and the *Times*.

The late P. V. FitzPatrick possessed from 1830 the *Liberator's* confidence to a most remarkable degree. To him O'Connell would write, often twice in one day,

unbosoming his inmost thoughts, and detailing facts—interesting at the time, and of historic value now. ‘It lightens my heart to write to you,’ he says, on March 11, 1833; and in these volumes countless confidential utterances will be found. To no other man did he open his mind so freely. Without him the great Agitator’s power would have been much less; for FitzPatrick held not only ‘the sinews of war,’ but certain diplomatic agencies capable of producing wonderful effects. How necessary ‘The Tribute’ was to carry on the Agitation and to reimburse O’Connell, a glance at p. 212 *infra* will show. Partly to stimulate FitzPatrick in organising ‘The Tribute’—which rose to 16,000*l.* a year, and is stated by Dr. Madden to have sometimes reached 30,000*l.*—O’Connell paid him the compliment of all others the most prized.

O’Connell’s *prestige* stood so high that it is not easy now to realise its fulness; and the confidence he reposed in FitzPatrick was enough to intoxicate a mind less strong.

It will be seen that Richard Barrett—a Protestant and a Tory—became the staunch disciple of O’Connell, and started a newspaper which was long the organ of his policy. To fan Barrett’s fervour O’Connell conferred on him—though to a less extent—the same class of compliment that made FitzPatrick so envied. O’Connell knew the men on whom to bestow that vital connection which may be styled the very nerves and arteries of friendship. His letters to Barrett came into my hands so far back as the year 1859.

I desire to thank the Right Hon. the Earl of Bessborough, who gave me many important letters addressed to his late father, Lord Duncannon, when a member of the Grey Cabinet. Some of these and other letters are marked *confidential*; but the family of O’Connell are of opinion

that, however private such letters were at the time, they may be now, without scruple, given to the world.

In thorough contrast to his wrathful tone on public questions are the tender letters to his wife and daughter. I gratefully acknowledge the kindness of the latter in placing her father's letters in my hands; equal acknowledgment is due to Daniel O'Connell, Esq., D.L. of Darrynane, grandson of the Liberator, who made some interesting transcriptions and entrusted me with many curious papers.

The Knight of Kerry courteously threw open to me the archives of his family. The same remark applies to the late Earl of Donoughmore, the Right Hon. the O'Connor Don, and the representatives of the Right Hon. Anthony Richard Blake.

N. S. O'Gorman, Esq., placed at my disposal the letters addressed to his late father, Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, 'Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.' Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell furnished letters addressed to John O'Connell, of Grena, by his brother Dan; and I must also thank the representatives of Sir Thomas Wyse—James Dwyer, Q.C., M. Crean, and Major MacNamara. The letters to Staunton I got from himself.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State had the kindness to cause search to be made in the archives of the Home Office, and, aided by the Master of the Rolls, to furnish the result. Lord Stanley of Alderley has also been very kind. From Lords Lansdowne and Normanby I was not fortunate in obtaining any reply.

O'Connell, on December 21, 1818, and again on June 15, 1819, assures O'Connor Don that he is 'the very worst letter-writer in the world.' That, in face of this fact, I should have succeeded in gathering so many letters, will be acknowledged as satisfactory. See also vol. i., p. 297, where Sir W. King complains that 10*l.* he sent O'Connell

for his defence was never acknowledged. Even the letters of great ecclesiastics were often left unnoticed. Dr. Donovan, Domestic Prelate to the Pope, is told (December 18, 1825):—

‘You will attribute to the proper cause—extreme hurry—my not answering letters. If I had time yours would be certainly one of the first.’ And O’Connell only writes to him then to beg that he would influence Bishop Doyle on a very delicate point.

These letters throw light not only on the personal life and thoughts of O’Connell, but on Courts and Cabinets—the intrigues of public men, and the subtleties of political organisations. Few periods of greater moment in England’s history have yet arisen. The papers referring to the youthful Princess and Queen have special interest at a time when public attention is being re-directed to the early stage of the Victorian Era; and even ‘Mr. Punch’ re-issues his cartoons exhibitivè of the Young Queen, O’Connell, and Lord Melbourne. Every document not possessing some public interest, or revealing a personal *trait*, has been weeded out.

Two letters written by O’Connell’s sons are introduced as helping to complete the political history of the hour; also a few from his chaplain, Dr. Miley, supplying, in remarkable words, facts known only to himself. Lord Duncannon’s letters come within the former category.

For the assistance I received from John Murray, Esq., junior, while these volumes were passing through the press, I desire to record my appreciation.

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Errata.

Page 483, note ¹ not forthcoming, *should be omitted.*

„ 487, line 1 of note, *for Carthusian read Cistercian.*

THE
PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and Boyhood—St. Omer—Douay—Outburst of the French Revolution—John Sheares—Flight from France—Maira-ni-Dubh—London and Logic—Bar Studies—Continental Politics—'Called' and 'Chosen'—Anecdote—Marriage—The Machinery for Catholic Agitation laid—The Knight of Kerry—Repeal of the Union—Catholic Leaders bribed and debauched—The Convention Act—The Catholic Delegates of 1811—Wellesley Pole—Arrest of Lord Fingall, Dr. Sheridan, and Mr. Kirwan—A Struggle—Trial and Defence of John Magee—A Labyrinth of Litigation—Delegation annihilated—O'Connor Don—Fatal Duel with D'Esterre—The Viceroy Whitworth.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, the son of Morgan O'Connell and Kate O'Mullane, was born on August 6, 1775, at Carhen, near Cahirciveen, county of Kerry.¹ Daniel and a younger brother received their earlier education at Cove, near Cork, and are afterwards found at St. Omer and Douay; but the outburst of the French Revolution gravely retarded their studies. Their uncle, Maurice O'Connell, of Darrinane,² familiarly

¹ It appears from some marriage licences preserved in the Record Office, Dublin, that in 1771 Morgan O'Connell of Carhen was married to Miss O'Mullane in a Protestant church at Cork. Both were good Catholics, and for some time designed their son Dan for the priesthood. The marriage by a parson may have been due to the terrorism of the Penal Code under which, not long previously, priests had been outlawed.

² The O'Connells were an old stock. By letters mandatory of James I., dated April 25, 1635, Daniel M'Geoffery O'Connell of Aghgort was

constituted High Sheriff of Kerry. Further search in the Record Office discovered the Subsidy Roll for Iveragh, with the names of those on whom the tax in support of Charles II. was levied, and it appears that in 1667 Maurice O'Connell and Daniel O'Connell contributed 10*l.* each.

The General Count O'Connell, born at Darrinane in 1743, a distinguished officer of the Irish Brigade in the service of France. He finally became colonel of one of the British regiments, into which the Brigade was formed, at the restoration of the Bourbons.

known as 'Old Hunting Cap,' had no children, and Dan was now generally regarded as his heir. 'Hunting Cap's' escritoire still occupies its original niche at Darrinane and contains letters addressed to him by his nephews Daniel and Maurice; also their school accounts, and the reports of their preceptors. The Rev. Dr. Stapleton, afterwards Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of the Midland district of England, thus gives his opinion of Dan in January, 1792:—'I never was so much mistaken in my life as I shall be unless he [Dan] is destined to make a remarkable figure in society.'

After this pronouncement the following letters—written in the large hand of a child—may disappoint students of epistolary culture. But the crumbling relics have an interest all their own:—

St. Omer: Feb. 3rd, 1792.

My dear Uncle,—Since I had the pleasure of hearing from you last, I received a letter from my Uncle in Paris: he desired us learn mathematicks, logick and rhetoric; as soon as I received his letter, I went to the President to inform him of it; he told me that the price of learning the mathematicks here is a Guinea a month, upon which I wrote to my Uncle to let him know the President's answer. I also told him that if he wished we should follow that system of Education, it would be better send us elsewhere, where we may go thro' a regular course of studies. Not that I find the smallest fault with this colledge, where every thing that is taught in it is sufficiently attended to; the boys taken very good care of, and the living good enough.

In this Colledge are taught the Latin and Greek authors, French, English, and Geography, besides lessons given during recreation hours in Music, dancing, Fencing, and drawing. I have not yet inquired about rhetoric, but will do it (please God) as soon as I receive an answer from my Uncle.

We have composed for the second time since I came here. I got second in Latin, Greek and English, and eleventh in French; before the places are read out there is a scene or two of play acted on a small stage, which is in the Colledge, by one of the four first schools (each in its turn); these they

call Orations, and of them there are eight in the year. Of consequence we compose eight times; there is a whole play acted in the month of August.

As our trunk was too large to get into our dormitory, we were obliged to get a small wooden box from the Procurator, nailed against the wall of the play yard; these are here called houses, we keep in it the books and other little things we brought with us. The President told me that he would give the £10 we brought here to the Procurator to be given to us at the rate of 6*d.* ster¹ a fortnight.

I should not mention these particulars but that I thought you would be pleased at our letting you know every circumstance that may happen, therefore we are resolved not to let any slip unnoticed.

I have just received your affectionate letter and return you sincere thanks for it. We hope, my dear Uncle, to be able to shew our gratitude by our ready obedience to all your commands, and by our application to our studies. I have delivered your letter to the Procurator, who receives the boys' pension.—I remain, my dear Uncle,

Your affectionate and dutiful Nephew,

DANL. O'CONNELL.

It is curious to observe that several of these letters are marked '6*s.* postage' and all addressed to 'Darinane, near Tralee.' In point of fact, a wild district extending over forty miles intervenes between Darrinane and Tralee. In course of time the Anglicised form of spelling Darrynane came to be adopted by O'Connell himself.³

To Maurice O'Connell, Darinane.

St. Omer: April 16th, 1792.

My dear Uncle,—I received your affectionate letter the beginning of this month, but could not answer it before now, as there was since a suspension of studies, during which I had no place to retire to from whence I might write to you.

³ Darinane signifies 'the oak grove of Finan,' whose ancient church is shown within a few miles

of the O'Connell residence. *Dair* is the Irish for oak.

I hope you have long since received the different letters we wrote to you since the 17th of Feb., they were one of the first of March, and another of the 27th or thereabouts of the same month; they contained an account of an order we received from my Uncle Daniel to learn mathematicks, together with the price of learning them here, which is a Guinea a month; my Uncle desired us to ask your advice about the matter and not to begin until we received an answer.

As the Easter examen is just over, our studies begin again on another footing, instead of the books I mentioned before we now read Mignot's harangues, Cicero, and Cæsar, those are our Latin authors, tho' they are read over without any study beforehand, Cæsar is given us chiefly to turn into Greek; our Greek authors are Demosthenes, Homer, and Xenophon's Anabasis; our French one is Dago's speeches.

I return you thanks for your kindness in informing us of the news of the country. We hope, my dear Uncle, that our conduct will merit a continuation of your unparalleled friendship towards us; you may be convinced that we do our utmost endeavours for that purpose, and, as we know that you require no more, we hope (with God's assistance) to be able to succeed.

Present our love and duty to our dear Grandmother, Father and Mother and all other friends.—I am, my dear Uncle,

Your grateful, dutiful, and affectionate Nephew,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

P.S.—Philosophy is not taught publickly in this College. We had leave to eat meat during this Lent.

St. Omer: June 30th, 1792.

My dear Uncle,—Our school goes to-morrow to our country house. We are to remain there four days, which are by far the pleasantest in the year. The house is situated in a beautiful valley about a league from the town. All

the boys go there once a fortnight and remain a day; this renders the summer very agreeable [torn].

I have learned some other particulars relative to the colledge [at] Douay since my last, which are that French is paid no great attention to there, nay, almost totally neglected. Arithmetic also, it is said, will soon be entirely laid aside. In that science my brother is in *Practice*; I am in *Interest*.

It is said that all the letters which leave this kingdom are first sent to Paris, where they are opened. If this is the case, it may in some measure account for the great length of time our letters take before you receive them.

Douay: Sep. 14, 1792.

My dear Uncle,— My Brother wrote to you about a week after we arrived here. I was then in the infirmary, being taken with some slight fits of the ague.

We left St. Omer about the 18th Ult^o, and arrived here the same day. The procurator only gave us a crown each, which was barely sufficient for the road as we left St. Omer before breakfast time and did not arrive here until very late in the evening. As soon as we arrived we got each a room in which there was no furniture except a bed, for every boy is supposed to bring money with him to furnish his room: we were in great distress for the first night, next morning a young man, a Mr. Duggan, from near Newmarket in the County Cork, came to us, spoke to us very civilly and told us he would chuse furniture for us: we immediately told him how our affair stood and asked his advice. He told us we should go to the procurator and tell him our case and that he may depend upon the payment of any thing reasonable advanced us. Upon our doing so the procurator advanced us a Guinea and a half, with which we bought most of the little things necessary for our rooms such as looking glasses, candlesticks, washing basons &c.; we likewise were obliged to buy buckles (as the St. Omer's College buckles were small iron ones) for about 4s. ster. each. But as we had not money enough to buy knives

forks &c. for refectory Mr. Duggan forced us to borrow half a Guinea of him for that purpose.

Mr. Baymont, the procurator, sent for me a few days ago, and told me that, as he depended on the credit you had given him, he would provide us with furniture even before we got a letter from you, so that we have already got tables. The furniture consists of a desk and cupboard, a table, a small table for washing, powdering,⁴ &c. on, and four chairs. The pension here is twenty five Guineas a year; we get very small portions at dinner; most of the lads (those who are on Bourses excepted) get what they call *seconds*, that is, a second portion every day, and for them they pay 3 or £4 a year extraordinary. We would be much obliged to you for leave to get them, but this as you please. I hope, my dear Uncle, that you will not think me troublesome in saying so much on those heads: you may be convinced that it is only a desire of satisfying you and of letting you know in what way your money is spent that makes me do so. I have been to the president about our beginning philosophy, he desired me write to you again and inform you that the course of philosophy began last Whitsuntide, and that we would in commencing so be under a great disadvantage. Rhetorick began at the same time, so that we are no better off there. We have already learnt the first principles of the last mentioned science, and before we can get an answer from you, we will (please God) get so far as to be able to study it privately by ourselves. If we go into philosophy now, we will save a whole year. We study, in our leisure hours, the beginning of Philosophy; Mr. Duggan has got us books and instructs us in any difficulty. We can get lessons wherever we study the law and learn more Rhetorick in one month (the lessons being commonly given in English) than here in a whole year. It is therefore my opinion (which I entirely submit to your superior judgement) that it would be much better for us go strait

⁴ It was the fashion of the day to powder the hair. An old priest, Archdeacon MacMahon, remembers that at Maynooth College

the students in natural philosophy used hair powder, and Monsignor Kennedy assures me that the practice was not confined to that class.

into philosophy than remain any longer in Rhetorick.—I remain, my dear Uncle,

Your sincerely affectionate, grateful,
and dutiful Nephew,

DL. O'CONNELL.

We are obliged to pay for the washing ourselves. At St. Omers everything was done for the boys, here the boys are obliged to do everything themselves. This college is much better in every respect than the other.

A considerable flutter now agitated the schools. A letter to Uncle Maurice, dated 'Douay, January 17, 1793,' remarks:—'The present state of affairs in this country is truly alarming; the conduct the English have pursued with regard to the French in England makes us dread to be turned off every day. In case of a war with England, this is almost inevitable.'

Uncle Maurice at once ordered his nephews home. John Sheares—afterwards hanged in the Rebellion of '98—chanced to be their travelling companion from Calais to Dover, and the future Liberator was shocked to see him draw from his pocket, and exultingly exhibit, a handkerchief which he had soaked in the blood of Louis XVI., as it flowed from the scaffold.⁵

Daniel O'Connell left France in a state nearly approaching, as he often said, to that of a Tory at heart, and as soon as the English packet-boat got under way, he tore from his hat, and flung into the sea, the tricolour cockade which regard for personal safety made it indispensable to wear on French soil. Some French fishermen, rowing past, cursed him as they reverently rescued the cockade.

To Maurice O'Connell, Darinane.

London: March 21st, 1793.

My dear Uncle,—I send you by my Uncle Dan's orders, although it is not a month since Maurice wrote, the accounts, as they came from Douay. We left most of our

⁵ Mr. John O'Connell mentions this fact in the sketch of his father's life (p. 9), but strangely errs in giving

the date of the execution of Louis XVI. as December 21, 1793, instead of January 21, 1793.

furniture, together with my violin,⁶ to be sold, but they have been seized by the Municipality, as was every other article which had no particular owner then present—all such goods being considered as national property. Thus the College has been deprived of all its . . . plate . . . &c. &c.

When we came to London we had every single article of wearing apparel to buy, and as things are excessively dear here, a large sum of money is soon expended. We got——

[Here a long list of articles were enumerated.]

Your most dutiful and affectionate Nephew,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

P.S.—We are satisfied in every respect with our present situation.

To Maurice O'Connell, Darinane.

London: 8^{bre} 21st, 1793.

My dear Uncle,—I wrote to you at the beginning of the month. Circumstances, such as intervened, and which I did not then expect, make me write to you again.

I was a little surprised this morning on Mr. Fagan informing me that he could no longer go on with the plan he had laid down for himself in the beginning of the year—in short, that he could no longer keep school. I instantly went to Mr. Fagan,⁷ who told me he would place me in the same house with my brother until we had received orders from you how to proceed. Accordingly I am to go thither in a few days. I will (please God) trouble my Uncle with a letter as soon as I am settled, which will inform you both what I am studying.

⁶ It has been often stated that O'Connell, like Dr. Johnson, had no appreciation for music, and could not distinguish 'Garryowen' from 'Rule Britannia.' The allusion to his violin disproves this assertion. Further, the man who made the remark recorded below cannot have been without soul and ear:—

'It may interest you to learn that

my father always considered Moore's Melodies had been of much service in raising and encouraging the agitation for Catholic Emancipation.'—*Daniel O'Connell to W. J. Fitz-Patrick*. London, April 18, 1887.

⁷ A relative of the O'Connell family, afterwards an officer in the East India Company's service.

Mr. Waters—Count Rice's nephew—and I are the only constant boarders that Mr. Fagan has had [for some] time past. The smallness of our number, and the dearness of the different articles of life—increased since the war began—led him to such a step as he has been at last obliged to take for his own protection. Mr. Fagan, on the whole, thinks that will turn as much to my advantage—as I have got pretty near the end, and over almost if not all the difficulties of Logic.

Please to present my duty to my dear Grandmother,^s Uncle, Father and Mother, and love to my brothers and sisters, and all other friends.

Your sincerely affectionate and grateful Nephew,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Maurice O'Connell, Darrinane.

Chiswick, near London : December 10th, 1795.

My dear Uncle,—I delayed answering your letter until I should have it in my power to inform you that I had changed my place of residence, in conformity to your desire.

On calculating the expenses of retiring to a cheaper spot, and of returning to keep my term in January, I found it would not answer ; so I have dropped the scheme. I am now only four miles from town, yet perfectly retired. I pay the same price for board and lodging as I should in London ; but I enjoy many advantages here, besides air

^s This remarkable woman, known as Maira-ni-Dubh, daughter of O'Donoghue of the Lakes, married O'Connell of Darrinane early in the last century. She was recognised as a person of vigorous intellect, whom friends with mingled reverence and awe would constantly consult. Her caustic sarcasm and strong denunciation of all who sought to thwart her views are still vividly described by her kinsfolk. Her son, Maurice O'Connell of Darrinane, 'Old Hunting Cap,' died at the age of ninety-seven. The long time which has elapsed

since 'Maira-ni-Dubh' lived, and the wonderful permanence of the impression left by her strong will, may thus be inferred. When paying servitors their wages she always exclaimed in Irish : 'May God prosper or melt away your wages according as you earned them.' This letter corrects the family tombstone, which represents Maira-ni-Dubh as having died in 1792.

The Great Agitator is considered to have inherited from 'Maira-ni-Dubh' his muscular mind and power of invective.

and retirement. The society in the house is mixed ; I mean, composed of men and women, all of whom are people of rank and knowledge of the world ; so that their conversation and manners are perfectly well adapted to rub off the rust of scholastic education ; nor is there any danger of riot or dissipation, as they are all advanced in life—another student of law and I being the only young persons in the house. This young man is my most intimate acquaintance, and the only friend I have found amongst my acquaintance. His name is Bennett.⁹ He is an Irish young man of good family connections and fortune. He is prudent, and strictly economical. He has good sense, ability, and application. I knew him before my journey to Ireland. It was before that period our friendship commenced ; so that, on the whole, I spend my time here not only very pleasantly, but, I hope, very usefully.

The only law books that I have bought as yet, are the works of Espinasse, on the trials of Nisi Prius. They cost me £1 10s., and contain more information on the practical part of the law than any other work I have ever met. When in Dublin, I reflected that carrying any more books than were absolutely necessary would be incurring expense ; so I deferred buying a complete set of reports until my return thither.

I have now two objects to pursue—the one, the attainment of knowledge ; the other, the acquisition of all those qualities which constitute the polite gentleman.¹ I am con-

⁹ Richard Newton Bennett, who continued through life the attached friend of O'Connell. He was present at O'Connell's duel with D'Esterre (p. 28, *infra*), and later on is recommended for promotion (p. 149). Bennett became a Colonial Chief Justice.

¹ O'Connell does not use the word 'polite' in the sense of *suave*. The following letter of the same time shows that he early began to speak his mind freely, and to provoke the penalty that, later on, brought him into hostile relations with Peel, D'Esterre, Disraeli and Alvanley:—

'To Danl. O'Connel (*sic*).

'Chiswick : Decr. 18th, 1795.

'Sir,—Unless you make a point of disclosing to me the Reason of your Expressions last night I shall most certainly look upon and treat you as every one deserves who deviates so much from the character and manners of a Gentleman. Depend upon it nothing but the Idea of the Mortification it would have been to Genl. Morrison prevented me from treating you at that moment as you justly deserved.

'I am, &c.,

'DOUGLAS THOMPSON.'

vinced that the former, besides the immediate pleasure which it yields, is calculated to raise me to honours, rank, and fortune; and I know that the latter serves as a general passport or first recommendation: and as for the motives of ambition which you suggest, I assure you that no man can possess more of it than I do. I have, indeed, a glowing and—if I may use the expression—an enthusiastic ambition, which converts every toil into a pleasure, and every study into an amusement.

Though nature may have given me subordinate talents, I never will be satisfied with a subordinate situation in my profession. No man is able, I am aware, to supply the total deficiency of abilities, but everybody is capable of improving and enlarging a stock, however small, and in its beginning, contemptible. It is this reflection that affords me most consolation. If I do not rise at the Bar, I will not have to meet the reproaches of my own conscience. It is not because I assert these things now, that I should conceive myself entitled to call on you to believe them. I refer that conviction which I wish to inspire to your experience. I hope, nay, I flatter myself, that when we meet again, the success of my efforts to correct those bad habits which you pointed out to me will be apparent. Indeed, as for my knowledge in the professional line, that cannot be discovered for some years to come; but I have time in the interim to prepare myself to appear with greater *éclat* on the grand theatre of the world.

You have heard of the capture of Mannheim. The Austrians continue to advance rapidly on the French side of the Rhine. They are said to be marching towards Luxemburg. In the meantime the French are evacuating Holland. Whether this event will be favourable to the Stadtholder is as yet uncertain. The Ministry, who are become unpopular, owing in particular to the two Bills of which you must have heard, and in general to the ill success of the war, already tottered in their seats; but the brilliant victories of the Austrians have secured them at least for some time. That we shall soon have peace is no

longer a question. Everybody believes it, and the King's messages to Parliament confirm the belief.—I am, dear Uncle,

Your affectionate and dutiful Nephew,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell soon after returned to Ireland, and in 1798 was called to the Bar. There is a great break in his correspondence from this date. The troubled times had begun, mail-coaches were stopped, few letters were written or preserved. He read hard, fell sick, nearly died, rallied, went on circuit, and pulled troops of clients through. A Kerryman named Sigerson, against whom he accepted a brief, was so stung by the young 'counsellor's' answer to evidence that he called him 'a purse-proud blockhead.' 'I have no purse to be proud of,' said O'Connell; 'and if I am a blockhead all the better for you, as I am counsel against you.' He won. The discomfited man wrote him a challenge; but a second letter came saying, 'I find that your name occurs in a valuable lease, therefore I cannot afford to shoot you unless you insure your life for my benefit!'²

Daniel O'Connell made a love-match. On June 23, 1802, he married his cousin Mary, daughter of Dr. O'Connell, of Tralee. The nuptials were privately solemnised in Dublin at the lodgings of her brother-in-law. Dan, it will be remembered, was regarded as the heir of Old Hunting Cap. Mary O'Connell had no fortune, and the immediate kinsfolk of her admirer strongly opposed the match. Various letters, seeking to dissuade him from it, are now before me.

A daughter of the subsequent 'Liberator' mentions that Uncle Maurice never forgave 'Dan' for not marrying Miss Mary Ann Healy,³ of Cork, and that he left elsewhere much that would otherwise have been hers. Maurice survived until the year 1825, when he died, aged ninety-seven.

² For a notice of other cases in which O'Connell was engaged, see Appendix.

³ Miss Healy was a mature spinster, short in stature, but famous for her long purse—and nose. This organ threatened to militate so gravely against the future prospects of the lady, that her uncle, when writing his will, was urged to make her fortune larger 'on account of her nose.' Miss Healy, this dis-

appointment notwithstanding, continued to maintain to the end friendly relations with 'Dan' and his household, and at the balls at 30 Merrion Square—the Liberator's residence—she was long a familiar and most amusing figure. Her appearance was so grotesque that the younger members of the family, as they assure me, always felt ashamed of her. Miss Healy died unmarried.

The following letter from O'Connell to his wife, dated 'November 1802,' is addressed, in a disguised hand, to 'Miss O'Connell, Tralee,' and, as appears from the post-mark, cost the fair recipient sixpence on delivery; but she would as readily have given diamonds for such precious words. Considering that the secret was mainly dependent on a lady, it seems to have been marvellously well kept.

Dublin: November 25, 1802.

Darling,—I can write you but a few lines as it is grown so late, and my time is small. I was finishing some law business which I had solemnly promised to dispose of this night.

You will know, my heart's dearest treasure, that whether I write few or many words, there certainly is not in the world a man who more fondly doats on, or who so anxiously longs for the arms of his wife. Day and night you are continually present to my fond thoughts, and you always increase my happiness or lessen my cares. With you I could live with pleasure in a prison or a desert. You are my all of company, and if I can but preserve your love I shall have in it more of true delight than can be imagined by any but he who sincerely loves. Sweet Mary, I rave of you! I think only of you! I sigh for you, I weep for you! I almost pray to you!

Darling, I do not—indeed I do not—exaggerate. If there be more of vehemence in my expressions, believe me that vehemence has its justification in my heart—a heart that is devoted to the most enticing of her sex. Indeed you are a dear, charming little woman.

Your last letter I have read again and again and again. It is in every respect a most pleasing letter to me; not only from the heart-flowing strain of tenderness in which it is written, but the saucy gaiety of some of the passages show me how much recovered my love is. . . . Mary, how fondly I shall cherish the little stranger coming! I hope it may be a daughter, and as like you as possible. Oh God! how I then will love her! How sincerely will I express my affection to the mother in the caresses I bestow on the child. Dearest, sweetest wife, I can thus hope to be able to prove

to you the ardour and the purity of the pleasing affection—to me at least most pleasing affection—with which my whole soul doats on you.

Dearest, I am writing with great rapidity, but still my thoughts run much faster than my pen. I could praise you a thousand times faster than I write, as I love you a thousand times more than I can tell.

I shall soon see you, dearest darling. Love to dear mother.

Ever your devoted Husband,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In a week we shall be able to fix the time of our departure. Happy, happy moment that gives me my sweet wife again.

O'Connell, when conversing with his secretary, Mr. Daunt, in 1843, said: 'I never proposed marriage to any woman but one—my Mary. I told her I would devote my life to make her happy—and she deserved that I should. I thought my uncle would disinherit me. But I did not care. I was richly rewarded by subsequent happiness. She had the sweetest, the most heavenly temper, and—the sweetest breath.'

He added a shrewd remark which deserves to be remembered: 'It is unwise on the part of a lover to offer marriage at an early period of his courtship. By this precipitation he loses the advantage which female curiosity must otherwise afford him, and in sapping his way to her heart discards a powerful auxiliary.'

*To the Knight of Kerry.*⁴

Westland Row, Dublin: May 14, 1807.

Dear Sir,—I had the honour of receiving your letter this morning, and should have been happy to have contributed to your re-election were it in my power. I do assure you you would have found my exertions most zealous and cordial, however unable I might have been to render them useful.

⁴ The Knight of Kerry, the Right Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, during thirty-five years that he represented

his native county, gave efficient support to the Catholic claims. O'Connell's extensive correspondence with

I have no doubt you will receive all the support my family can give. They all concur with me in thinking that no person can have such claims on that support either from reasons of personal respect or motives of public principle.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

From the year 1805 O'Connell took a lead in the R. C. Party of Action in opposition to Pitt, Fox and Grattan, and even the old Catholic leader Keogh, who were anxious that the question should wait.

To the Knight of Kerry.

Westland Row, Dublin : Dec. 26, 1807.

My dear Sir,—I have a request to make of you to which I am urged by several of the gentlemen here who have been active in preparing the Catholic petition. Your zeal in our cause⁵ would alone be sufficient to justify the application to you; but, besides any consideration of that kind, I confess to you I should not of myself feel any difficulty in taking the liberty.

The object arises thus: a petition was prepared last year for presenting, but postponed⁶ on account of the change of administration. That petition has since got into print, and we are induced to believe that, having been once printed and published, it cannot, according to the humours of the House of Commons, be presented. Now, as the Speaker is bound to know the law of the House, and, as we conceive,

this eminent Irishman, who finally held high posts in the Government, will be found during the years that immediately preceded Emancipation. Born 1772; died 1849.

⁵ The Catholic claims.

⁶ By a letter of January 12 following it appears that Grattan advised further postponement, while Lords Grey and Ponsonby, Sir John Newport, Sir H. Parnell, and others were in favour of pressing the question. During the following year the Government saw with some alarm

the progress made by the Catholic Question under the organising arm of O'Connell. They did not hesitate even to bribe one, if not more, of his colleagues at the Board. Sir Arthur Wellesley, writing to Dublin Castle from London on November 17, 1808, says: 'I think that, as there are some interesting Catholic questions afloat just now, you might feed —— with another £100.' (See *Civil Correspondence of the Duke of Wellington [Ireland, 1807-9]*. London: John Murray, 1860, p. 485.)

to communicate it to any of the members, we are anxious in our request to you to ascertain the matter as speedily as may suit your convenience.

As soon as Lord Fingal comes to town we shall hold our first general meeting, and there certainly shall be a petition presented early in the session.

Allow me to take this opportunity of assuring you that among your constituents, none can be found who could subscribe himself with more sincere respect and zeal,

Your faithful Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Connell O'Connell was a handsome southern solicitor, known to the Limerick lasses by the sobriquet 'Look and Die.' He gave briefs to the promising barrister, continued his staunch friend through life, and in the duel with D'Esterre stood by his side.

To Connell O'Connell.

Maryborough: 14th January, 1809.

My dear Connell,—After I wrote in an angry mood my note about the instructions for the declarations I found them where I did not look for them—locked up carefully, and then I received your affectionate letter.

My object now is not to indulge my feelings as to the return I would make if I could for your valuable friendship. I may use the word 'valuable' in a mercantile sense, but you know I employ it in a kindlier one. It has been the strange colour of my life to have been of eminent use to many persons from some of whom I never received the gratitude of an acknowledgement—from others I have learned the inestimable benefit of mutual friendship—but you are the only being from whom I have received gratuitous—I may call it—kindness; because to you alone have I been able to make no other return than the barren declarations of zeal and anxiety to be useful. I am thus pouring out to you the effusions of my heart, whilst I should return to my subject. It is to beg of you to suffer me to mention to Dan your real

disorder . . . Take perfect care of yourself—command my little mare as if she were altogether your own, and of all things avoid cold . . . I will indeed be happy to bear the good news you promise me, but first and of all things take care of your health. I am proud that so many people love you as well as

Your most affectionate

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In 1800 O'Connell opposed the Union, and the day-dream of his life was its repeal. This was sternly demanded in 1810 by the Dublin Corporation, then held by ultra-Tories; and O'Connell hailed with joy the probable junction of Orange and Green. At a public meeting he declared that, were the Premier 'to offer me to-morrow the repeal of the Union upon the terms of re-enacting the entire Penal Code, I declare it from my heart, and in the presence of my God, that I would most cheerfully embrace his offer.'

Among the letters that passed between O'Connell and the Corporators was the following, addressed to the High Sheriff, Sir James Riddall:—

Limerick : 7th January, 1810.

Dear Sir,—Business, which has brought me from Dublin since I accepted your kind invitation for Friday next, prevents me from returning to town until after that day. I am thus deprived of the pleasure of waiting on you, which I very sincerely regret, not only from the respect I bear you personally, but because I entertain a very strong and, I will add, a very grateful sense of that patriotic zeal which instigates you to bring together your countrymen of every persuasion upon every occasion in your power. Believe me, I should feel sincere pleasure in any efforts of mine, however humble, to co-operate in the desirable result of combining all classes in mutual affection and in the common defence of our common country.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Limerick : Wednesday, 20th March, 1811.

My own Love,— . . . I am impatient to hear whether you have come to any determination as to the new study.⁷ It certainly will very much contribute to your comforts, and though you will *not* believe it, darling, yet it would really give me pleasure to make you feel comfortable. Besides, until you have a sitting parlour, it is quite impossible that you should be able to have your drawing-rooms in anything like neat and perfect order.

I shall write to ———⁸ as you desire, but indeed, indeed, heart, I could wish that you would be more peremptory with him. One effort would reduce him to perpetual obedience. You might punish him by confining him to the nursery, or excluding him from your dinner-table, or in any other manner of that kind, but you ought not to suffer him to impose on you.

Your most tenderly fond

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Knight of Kerry.

Merrion Square : Monday [January 1812].

My dear Sir,—I cannot defer acknowledging the deep obligation which you have laid on me and on the Catholic body at large by our exertions on Saturday. The conduct of the Attorney-General [Saurin] will, I hope, remain distinctly in your recollection. It was certainly *unprecedented*, as no Law officer ever before postponed information on the subject of Treason.⁹ I am delighted that you pressed, and, in fact,

⁷ O'Connell had just removed to No. 30 Merrion Square South, the house now occupied by Dr. Kidd.

⁸ One of his sons, then aged seven years.

⁹ Mr. Pole declared in Parliament that 'if gentlemen would read the debates of the [Catholic] Committee, they would find separation openly and distinctly recommended.' O'Connell, on February 29, 1812, at a meeting in Fishamble Street

Theatre, Dublin, replied: 'Why, my Lord, this is a direct accusation of High Treason, and he who would assert it of me, I would brand with the foulest epithets. I defy the slightest proof to be given of its veracity.' Mr. Pole's allusion to a treasonable element in the Catholic Committee is explained by his private letter, from the archives of the Home Office, cited in the Appendix.

extorted an interview for us. It is, I think, exactly the best thing that has occurred in our cause.

We saw him and Mr. Pole to-day. He—the Attorney-General—made an awkward apology for the delay. We stated our facts—gave him names and dates—were met with great politeness, and left those gentlemen—being ourselves quite satisfied that the thing has been managed for us, and by us, as it ought. We have certainly done our duty. Will the administrators do theirs? I hope we may find the connecting link of the chain.

Yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Ennis: 5th March, 1812.

My dearest Mary,—I was a little impertinent in my letter of yesterday, and the reason was because I found myself decidedly in more business than any other individual here; and so, heart, I avenged myself upon you, which was poor spite. I, however, now *forgive* you, darling, because you promise me so faithfully to take care of yourself and grow fat in my absence.

Seriously, love, I am quite in a temper to indulge vanity, but in nothing more so than in you and my sweet, sweet babes. Darling, you have no idea of the time I take in thinking of you and them, and in doating upon both. Kiss them a thousand times for their father, and tell them that he will not be happy until he has his three little girls on his knees, and his three boys looking at him there.

The business here is over—completely over.¹ I was concerned in every record, not left out of one, and I was the only counsel so circumstanced. I am apt to think I shall not be able to leave this to-morrow. Between chamber business and a Popish Aggregate,² it is likely that I shall be detained till Saturday, but on that I mean to write to you from Limerick.

¹ The Clare Assizes.

² A public meeting for the redress of Catholic grievances.

Will you take care and keep Cobbett³ for me safely. If you entrust this commission to anybody else, you may depend on it that some of the numbers will be missed. Call on Mr. Hay,⁴ love, and tell him from me that the members of the board in this county are very anxious to get copies of the petition in order to proceed for signatures.—Believe me, darling love, with the sincerest affection,

Your tender and doatingly fond

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Tell each and every of my babes how I love them. Ask John if he ever intends to get a tooth.

To his Wife.

Limerick : 7th August, 1813.

My darling Heart,—Your letter and Charles' account of you give me fresh life and spirits, but I thought you would have written to me again, heart's treasure, and I felt lonely and disappointed at not hearing from you by this day's post. Upon consideration I have blamed myself for it, because I ought to have written to you every day, but I will do so in future, my sweetheart Love, and you must follow my example. Do, then, my own Mary, let me have the happiness to hear that you are thoroughly well. Take the kindest care of my Kate, and, better still, more care of yourself for my own darling love. The business has become excessive upon this circuit—mine is increasing almost beyond endurance—but I never was in such good health, and have no anxiety but what relates to my own dearest, dearest darling. I wish to God you knew how fervently I doat on you. Kiss sweet saucy Kate for me.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Irish Government had long sought to sap the strength of the Catholic Board by subsidising and corrupting certain popular orators. A bolder course was now de-

³ *Cobbett's Register.*

⁴ Secretary to the Catholic Board.

terminated upon. The Government commenced a campaign against the Catholic delegates. In 1793, Lord Clare, with the object of foiling the United Irishmen, had succeeded in passing a penal measure known as the Convention Act. For eighteen years it had lain a dead letter, but through Mr. Wellesley Pole, the Irish Secretary, it was now revived. A Proclamation, dated Dublin Castle, February 12, 1811, required every Sheriff and Magistrate throughout Ireland, in pursuance of Lord Clare's Act, to arrest all persons connected either actively or passively in the late elections for members or delegates to the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland. Lord Fingall and several of his colleagues were placed under arrest.⁵ The incautious resolution which entrapped the Catholics had been passed during O'Connell's absence from Dublin; however, he made the best of the matter by managing some litigation which grew out of it. Dr. Sheridan and Mr. Kirwan—two delegates who had been put upon their defence—were acquitted by a Dublin jury; but, in the flush and vanity of an unexpected triumph, they embarked in a new contest by proceeding against Chief Justice Downes for false arrest. Judgment was given against the Catholics, and delegation became annihilated from that day. It was not until 1879 that Mr. P. J. Smyth succeeded in getting the Convention Act repealed.

To O'Conor Don.

4 Capel Street,⁶ 13th July, 1813.

Dear Sir,—The legal protection which the Board has given to so many individuals selected for prosecution by the Law Officers of the Crown, and to so many others suffering under the violence of Orange persecutions, has been attended with so much expense, that it will be impossible to transmit our present petitions without the aid of every individual in our body.

A Parochial subscription has been considered as that most likely to be efficacious. You are earnestly requested

⁵ Two letters of the Lord-Lieutenant, addressed to the Home Secretary, marked 'Secret and Confidential,' and now first published, appear in the Appendix to this work,

and should be read by those who care to study the history of the time.

⁶ The office of the Catholic Committee.

to commence in your own parish, and to extend the subscription to every other parish within the reach of your influence. The committee, gratefully acknowledging the payment of your contribution of five guineas in pursuance of its vote, do not, at present, call upon you personally for any further sum, but they entreat your personal exertions to induce others to follow your example.

The accounts of the Board are kept with the utmost accuracy, and the books are open to all the Members of the Catholic body.

I have the honor, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In 1813, John Magee, proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, was subjected to prosecution, fine, and imprisonment for having published an article reflecting on the Irish Government. The defence of Magee was O'Connell's ablest bar effort. It was a bold arraignment of the clique who in that day ruled in Dublin Castle. Again Magee was taken from his cell and indicted on a new charge: that of publishing in his paper O'Connell's speech. If it is important that an advocate should be true to his client, so should the client be faithful to his advocate. Magee signally failed in this respect. Mr. Wallace, K.C., on his behalf, called upon the Court to substitute the advocate for the defendant, and saddle on O'Connell the penalties of offences said to have been committed by Magee. The litigation and worry which grew out of these proceedings would fill a volume if detailed.

To John Magee.

Merrion Square: 2nd May, 1814.

My dear Magee,—I beg of you to read attentively a letter which I have written to your brother. I should be glad to know whether you think that the request I make of him is unreasonable. It consists merely of my entreaty that he should distinctly state what he expects from me, if anything, on the supposed case of my words having been totally mistaken in the report in question.

If I am to judge from the great reluctance your brother exhibited yesterday to answer the question, without an

answer to which it is impossible for me to form an estimate of what, *under existing circumstances*, I should do, I much fear that the Attorney-General⁷ will succeed in one of his objects—increasing dissension amongst the few who remain devoted, in intention and design at least, to the unfortunate land of our birth. But for my part I am determined not to have to blame myself. I am ready to do that which I think reasonable. If more be required of me, is it not fair that I should know what that is? I do, therefore, entreat of you to procure for me an answer to the question I put to your brother.⁸

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To N. Purcell O'Gorman.*⁹

(Private and confidential.)

(No date.)

My dear Purcell,—I wish to God I could settle this business of Magee's. I am anxious for it on your account and on account of *the cause*. I could get the thing closed for £700, payable annually. And as you being under any tie to pay it, arises from your being a public man. I think your friends ought to contribute. If your uncle would pay the first £100, allow me to say that I would cheerfully pay the second, your brother may perhaps pay the third, and then you should be prepared with the remainder. I repeat, however, that as a private gentleman, I do not think you bound to pay anything. But I reckon on it *that the cause* requires of you to make this payment.

Excuse me if I take a liberty with you in making *this offer*, but you will easily appreciate my motives, and those motives will probably serve to shew you that I always am

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

John O'Connell, in a collection of his father's speeches from 1800 to 1823, records that 'the year 1814 closed amid

⁷ Mr. Saurin.

⁸ James Magee, afterwards appointed a police magistrate.

⁹ A prominent member of the Catholic Board, and afterwards Secretary to the Catholics of Ireland.

considerable gloom as regards the political prospects of the Catholics,' and that 'the autumn and winter were passed in attending provincial meetings and half-private consultations in Dublin.' How O'Connell could smile through his tears the following shows. Charles Phillips, a Protestant barrister, had now nobly espoused the largely deserted Catholic cause.

To his Wife, at Cork.

Killarney: 13 Sept. 1814.

My darling Love,—I am more alarmed than I wish to say about your flight from Mallow.¹ It was, I am sure, more occasioned by your own illness than by my sweet Nell's toothache. You will get, I trust, well from the Cork air; but at all events Dublin is a certain restorative.

Have you seen or heard anything of Phillips?² I never knew a man so altered and, indeed, so insane with love. It seems that the lady promised to write to him on Thursday; she forgot the promise, and he was very uneasy that day. Friday came and no letter; Saturday, no letter; Sunday also without a letter! And off he set on Monday morning in the day coach. I never saw anybody so dull and stupid, nor have I seen so much agony as he exhibited as he was daily disappointed of a letter. He has suffered a great deal, and has, as you may imagine, not a little disappointed public expectation here.

The meeting took place this morning. John was in the chair, Lord Kenmare having been obliged to go off to see his sister, who had met with an accident near Cork. The meeting was the most numerous and respectable that ever met in Kerry. I hope you will be satisfied with our resolutions. I was the only orator; I spoke very badly.

With kindest love to my sweet darlings,
Ever your fondest

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

¹ A then popular spa in the County Cork.

² Charles Phillips, author of

Curran and his Cotemporaries, not the least amusing portion of which is his account of Daniel O'Connell.

Delegation as an engine of political strength was now destroyed, but O'Connell continued to keep the flame of agitation legally alive by holding meetings for the purpose of preparing petitions to Parliament. Traces of these efforts are found in his correspondence with O'Conor Don.

To O'Conor Don.

Merrion Square: 14th Novr. 1814.

My dear Friend,—It is intended to have a meeting held at No. 4 in Capel Street at two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 26th instant. The gentlemen who purpose meeting on that day have many of them differed as to the manner of conducting our petitions, but they mutually acknowledge and respect the purity of intention of those who entertained different opinions, and all agree in the propriety, nay, the necessity, of combining the efforts of all the petitioners to the furtherance of our great object—freedom of conscience.

It is intended to meet on that day merely as individuals, and for the purpose of collecting individual opinions, so as to shape all further proceedings in the mode most likely to deserve and insure unanimity.

Will you be so good as to let me know whether we may expect you at this meeting? Much, very much, may be done if we restore unanimity and, to use a vulgar phrase, pull together.³ Everybody regards and respects you, and if you were here I think you could contribute largely to bring together every honest Irishman, of whom there are in truth more than our friends think or our enemies suspect.

To Lord Fingall.

[1814.]

My Lord,—I had the honor of receiving this morning your letter of yesterday, and feel very much indebted to the politeness of your Lordship's attention to my circular.

I am sorry you augur so ill of the meeting of Saturday

³ The Veto controversy (*vide pp. 50, 72, infra*) threatened to divide the Catholics this year.

as to believe that the mode of proceeding about to be adopted is not the most likely to promote unanimity; ⁴ that is at present matter of prophecy, in which I hope your Lordship will have the pleasure of finding yourself mistaken; but, at all events, I am quite sure, my Lord, that if you were pleased to point out, either by letter or personally, any mode likely to attain that great object, unanimity, any suggestion coming from you must be received with all the deference due to a person having so many personal and hereditary claims on Catholic confidence.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The value of O'Connell's patriotic activity was enhanced by the fact that all this time his professional practice left him few moments that he could call his own. I owe to his grandson, Daniel O'Connell, Esq., D.L., an early memorandum of 'receipts' which he has found at Darrynane. It ends with 1814. After that date O'Connell's business increased so much that it was impossible to keep an account of it.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
From May 19, 1798, to Jan. 1, 1801	331	0	3
" Jan. 1, 1801 1802	255	18	9
" " 1802 1803	346	18	9
" " 1803 1804	465	5	9
" " 1804 1805	715	9	9
" " 1805 1806	840	14	0
" " 1806 1807	1077	4	3
" " 1807 1808	1713	1	6
Besides my fee, as assessor to the Sheriff of Kerry in May, 1807, at the election, of 150l. from each candidate, being	450	0	0
From Jan. 1, 1808, to Jan. 1, 1809	2198	15	6
Besides fee as assessor to Sheriff of Clare	400	0	0
From Jan. 1, 1809, to Jan. 1, 1810	2736	16	6
" " 1810 1811	2951	16	3
" " 1811 1812	3047	7	3
" " 1812 1813	3028	0	6
(N.B.—I lost the Cork Spring Assizes.)			
" Jan. 1, 1813, to Jan. 1, 1814	3808	7	0

⁴ See Fagan's *O'Connell* (i. 161-2) for an account of the contrite atonement offered to O'Connell by Lord Fingall shortly before his

death, 'for not having always supported him as I now feel he should have been supported.'

The year 1815 witnessed a very remarkable incident in the life of O'Connell—his duel with Mr. D'Esterre. The former, speaking at a Catholic meeting in January, said : 'I am convinced that the Catholic cause has suffered by neglect of discussion. Had the Petition been last year the subject of debate, we should not now see the *beggarly* corporation of Dublin anticipating our efforts by a Petition of an opposite tendency. The Duke of Sussex in the Lords, and Mr. Whitbread in the Commons, appear to me persons worthy to be entrusted with our petition.'

The Dublin Corporation was at that day an Orange stronghold, and D'Esterre, who represented at its Council the Guild of Merchants, sought to resent O'Connell's words. He was a brave, wiry man, who had served in the British Navy⁵—one well skilled in dealing death with cutlass or musket ; and it is told of him that during the Mutiny at the Nore he refused to fraternise, though a rope was put round his neck as a threat. The scene now shifts to Dublin, where D'Esterre is found following the trade of a provision merchant and contractor ; but reverses had overtaken his house, and in 1815 he was all but bankrupt. It has been often stated that some Orange zealots egged him on with the object of putting O'Connell out of the way, but I can find no reliable authority for this statement. However, it is notorious that men like Thorpe, who had already opposed O'Connell, obtained the grateful tribute of lucrative posts, and, further, were presented with the freedom of the Corporation. This at least is quite possible, that D'Esterre, finding ruin staring him in the face, harboured the desperate design of cutting his way to fortune by means of a quarrel with O'Connell. His letter seems to resent, on behalf of the Corporation, the word 'beggarly,' but it cannot be doubted that, though not avowed, he felt it almost as a personal taunt.

Mr. D'Esterre to Daniel O'Connell.

11 Bachelors' Walk [Dublin] : 26th January, 1815.

Sir,—Carrick's paper of the 23rd instant (in its report of the Debates of a meeting of Catholic Gentlemen, on the subject of a Petition) states that you have applied the

⁵ So Fagan states. The impression of O'Connell's son is that D'Esterre had been in the Royal Marines.

appellation of *beggarly* to the Corporation of this City, calling it a *beggarly Corporation*; and therefore, as a member of that body, and feeling how painful such is, I beg leave to enquire whether you really used or expressed yourself in any such language? I feel the more justified in calling on you on this occasion as such language was not warranted or provoked by anything on the part of the Corporation; neither was it consistent with the subject of your Debate, or the deportment of the other Catholic Gentlemen who were present; and though I view it so inconsistent in every respect, I am in hopes the Editor is under error, and not you. I have further to request your reply in the course of the evening, and remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

J. N. D'ESTERRE.

O'Connell to Mr. D'Esterre.

Merrion Square: January 27th, 1815.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of yesterday, and without either admitting or disclaiming the expression respecting the Corporation of Dublin in the print to which you allude, I deem it right to inform you that, from the calumnious manner in which the religion and character of the Catholics of Ireland are treated in that body, no terms attributed to me, however reproachful, can exceed the contemptuous feelings I entertain for that body in its corporate capacity; although doubtless it contains many valuable persons, whose conduct as individuals (I lament) must necessarily be confounded in the acts of a general body. I have only to add that *this letter must close our correspondence on this subject.*

I am, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*Mr., afterwards Sir James, O'Connell, Bart.,
to Mr. D'Esterre.*

Merrion Square: Friday evening.

Sir,—From the tenor of your letter of yesterday, my brother did not expect that your next communication would

have been made *in writing*. He directed me to open his letters in his absence. Your last letter, bearing a different address from the former one, was opened by me; but upon perceiving the name subscribed I have declined to read it, and by his directions I return it to you enclosed and *unread*.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

JAMES O'CONNELL.

On Sunday a letter reached James O'Connell from D'Esterre containing observations calculated to provoke a breach of the peace; and James at once sent his friend Captain O'Mullane to say that when the affair with Daniel was adjusted he would bring D'Esterre to account for his conduct to himself.

To N. Purcell O'Gorman.

Saturday [January 28, 1815].

My dear Purcell,—*This* is perhaps the only moment when you could be of singular use to me, and it happens unluckily that you are out. I implore of you to send me word on your return when I could see you.

Yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

[Endorsed 'Haste.']

O'Connell, in a later letter to his fast friend Richard Newton Bennett, tells him that, although MacNamara and O'Gorman would be on the field, he was determined that the duel should not go on unless in Bennett's presence. Bennett gave ready help and even drew up a programme. Further, he possessed a pair of duelling pistols that had belonged to his uncle, and one of which had shot Captain Pouden through the head.

To Richard Newton Bennett.

Tuesday.

My dear Bennett,—Your general notion is exact—the detail perhaps long. The Ruffian appeared in the Hall⁶ for a moment with a whip. The instant I heard of it I left the King's Bench and he disappeared. He paraded the quay

⁶ The Hall of the Four Courts.

with his whip. Richard O'Gorman met him—asked him did he want me—for that I told him I would fight him (D'Esterre) in three minutes whenever he chose ; that he had but to send *me* a message and that he should instantly be met. D'Esterre said the message ought to come *from me*, at which O'Gorman laughed. The fellow then took post at Brian Diebson's, in College Green. I came here with my friend Major MacNamara, but the delinquent had fled. His companions there, before I came up, were young Saurin,⁷ Sir Richard Musgrave,⁸ and Abraham Bradley King,⁹ the Alderman.

The crowd accumulated so fast that I took refuge in Exchequer Street, where Judge Day followed me and bound me to keep the Peace on *my Honour*. Was there ever such a scene ?

Yours ever,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The *ipsissima verba* which passed between O'Gorman and D'Esterre were not communicated to O'Connell. Mr. S. O'Gorman, J.P., nephew of the former, informs me that when D'Esterre vowed that he would horsewhip O'Connell, Gorman said : ' He is a large man, you are a small one, and he may destroy you. Call him out.' ' The man is a poltroon, and will never fight,' replied D'Esterre. O'Gorman said : ' I'll undertake to have O'Connell on the ground, and if he fails to fight, I'll take his place.'

When Judge Day said that he would be satisfied if he had the guarantee of O'Connell's honour to proceed no further in the business, the reply he received was : ' It is not my duty as a duellist to be the aggressor. I therefore pledge my honor that I shall not be the aggressor. Further, however, I must tell you, no human consideration will induce me to go.'

An extraordinary amount of publicity and delay attended this quarrel. The journals of the day record that between

⁷ Son of the Orange Attorney-General.

⁸ A zealous supporter of Orange ascendancy.

⁹ Ditto. But how Sir Abraham became O'Connell's most grateful

servant in the end affords a curious episode. (See letter of July 19, 1832, *infra*.)

James O'Connell complained that one of D'Esterre's bodyguard sought to sting him by sneering gestures.

O'Connell's house in Merrion Square and the Courts he was, for near a week, pursued by D'Esterre, whip in hand; and that crowds filled the streets anxious to see how O'Connell would make his way to his place of vocation; and that the Castle Chamberlain, Sir Charles Vernon, took up position in a spot from which he could command a good view of the expected collision.

The 'friend' retained by D'Esterre was Sir Edward Stanley. At last it was arranged that the parties should meet at Bishopscourt, near Naas—not in the Phoenix Park, as Father Tom Burke states in his 'Lecture on the Irish People.' Major MacNamara, O'Connell's second, was, like Bennett, a Protestant; the only Catholic non-relative who accompanied O'Connell was Purcell O'Gorman.¹ Alderman Smyth was on the ground, and the impression of his son is that all the Corporation were present. 'The Orange adherents of D'Esterre seemed to think that there would be a pitched battle, for my father counted no less than thirty-six pairs of pistols among them,' observes O'Gorman's son, addressing the present writer. O'Connell was perfectly cool, and recognising in the crowd Jerry MacCarthy, a kinsman, exclaimed, 'Ah, Jerry, I never missed you yet from an aggregate meeting.' MacNamara remarked to Sir Edward Stanley that, as the duellists had no personal quarrel or any private animosity, he presumed all parties would be satisfied when each gentleman discharged one pistol. Sir Edward's reply was that if they fired twenty shots D'Esterre would never leave the ground until O'Connell made an apology. 'Well, then,' exclaimed the Major with an oath, 'if blood be your object, blood you shall have.' While Bennett loaded O'Connell's pistols MacNamara prepared for action with the coolest generalship. Lest D'Esterre's eye should be attracted in its aim by any conspicuous object in his adversary, he removed a large bunch of seals which hung from O'Connell's fob and substituted a black stock for his white cravat. He proceeded to give a number of directions to O'Connell,

¹ O'Connell mentioned to O'Neill Daunt, as a good joke, that Baron Power, when going to commit suicide by drowning, carried an umbrella because the day was wet. But something almost as inconsistent occurred when 'Dan' and his brother James were hurrying in a postchaise to the scene of the duel. The postilion

gave the chaise a sudden turn which nearly capsized it. 'These fellows have no regard for a man's life,' said Dan, grasping his brother's arm to save himself from concussion. James thought the speech absurd for a man going into the jaws of death.—*Communicated by Morgan O'Connell, Esq.*

who, interrupting him, said, with much solemnity: 'I have one earnest request to make of you.' MacNamara bent anxiously to hear his friend's last message. O'Connell paused. 'What is it, my dear fellow?' asked MacNamara. 'Let me beg of you,' said O'Connell, 'not to say another word to me——until the duel is over.' Meanwhile D'Esterre most foolishly excited himself by making a speech, in which he disclaimed all hostility to members of the Roman Catholic persuasion. He fired first and missed: O'Connell's shot followed and took effect below D'Esterre's hip. Surgeon Peile was immediately by his side, found that the ball had traversed the hip and passed through the bladder, but all attempts to find it failed. A false report reached Dublin that O'Connell had fallen, and a party of dragoons were despatched to protect D'Esterre from popular violence. They cantered into Bishops-court while D'Esterre, in a dying state, was being removed from the field. O'Connell's anguish was great on realising the tragic issue of the business. He declared that his object in aiming low was lest he should wound D'Esterre in a mortal part. The unfortunate man lingered for two days, and with his last breath confessed that O'Connell was blameless in the matter. There can be no doubt that, had the victor been killed or wounded, many duels would have been the consequence, with possibly serious riots. How he escaped was a marvel. Dr. Brennan, in a contemporary portrait, thus describes him:—

The counsellor's tall and he's big to be sure,
As in Kerry they'd say he's the full of the door.

Lord Whitworth² was now closing, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, a long diplomatic career begun in Poland. The *Sentinel*, an independent Dublin journal, addressed a series of letters to him, stating that the most memorable event which occurred in his Viceroyalty was this duel. It had

² During the Whitworth Viceroyalty efforts were made, by finesse and force, to crush Catholic agitation. In April 1814, Quarantotti's Rescript was obtained, giving the Crown a veto in the appointment of bishops. On June 3, 1814, was fulminated Lord Whitworth's Proclamation suppressing the Catholic Board as an 'assembly which pre-

tended to prepare petitions to Parliament on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland,' declaring that it 'would only tend to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons,' and forewarning that 'all continuing to act as members of the same would be proceeded against according to law.'

engrossed the attention of Ireland, and ought to engross that of Parliament also. Everyone asked why the outrage which led to the catastrophe being so public and protracted had not been restrained by some one of the many members of his Government who had observed it. But vainly the friends of peace inquired why D'Esterre had not been placed under arrest.³

The ground was white with snow and the oil lamps dimly burning when O'Connell and his brother returned in solemn silence to Dublin. At last Daniel broke it. He told James to go to Archbishop Murray and say how deeply he deplored the occurrence; and in the next place to retain Richard Pennefather for his defence. The need for this proceeding was, however, obviated by the following letter:—

Sir Edward Stanley to O'Connell.

Royal Barracks: 4th February, 1815.

Sir,—Lest your professional avocations should be interrupted by an apprehension of any proceeding being in contemplation in consequence of the late melancholy event, I have the honor to inform you that there is not the most distant intention of any prosecution whatever, on the part of the family or friends of the late Mr. D'Esterre,

Your obedient humble Servant,

EDWARD STANLEY.

O'Connell to Sir Edward Stanley.

Merrion Square: 5th February, 1815.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and I beg of you to accept my sincere thanks for your very polite and considerate attention. It is to me a mournful consolation to meet such generous sentiments from those who must be afflicted at the late unhappy event. But, believe me, my regret at that event is most sincere and unaffected, and if I know my own heart, I can with the strictest truth assert, that no person can feel

³ Mr. Peel, the Irish Secretary, challenged O'Connell some weeks after this event, and the present Sir Robert Peel told a friend of the

writer's that his father had arranged to use Lord Whitworth's pistols. Lord Whitworth died in 1825, and his peerage has long been extinct.

for the loss society has sustained in the death of Mr. D'Esterre with more deep and lasting sorrow than I do. Allow me again to thank you, sir, for the courtesy of your letter—a courtesy quite consistent with the gentlemanly demeanour of your entire conduct in this melancholy transaction.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The surviving members of O'Connell's family say that the remembrance of this tragedy embittered his existence, interweaving itself with every joy, and only mitigated by the consolations yielded by religion.

O'Connell offered to secure a handsome annuity for D'Esterre's widow—or rather, 'to share,' as he himself observed, 'his income with her.' This Mrs. D'Esterre declined. But he prevailed upon a daughter of the deceased to accept an annuity, which was regularly paid until O'Connell's death. When proceeding to Court, it often suited his convenience to go by the Bachelors' Walk, and it was observed that in passing D'Esterre's house he would raise his hat and move his lips in silent prayer. Some years after, O'Connell, to his great delight, found himself in a position to render great service to Mrs. D'Esterre. A letter came to him from Father England, stating that the plaintiff in a case about to be tried at the Cork Assizes was no other than D'Esterre's widow, and that a favourable issue was of paramount importance to her and her children. O'Connell at that juncture held briefs in Dublin of very considerable importance, but he threw them up, returned the heavy retaining fees, and posting down to Cork, pleaded her cause and won the verdict.⁴

⁴ Perhaps an incident or two in connection with the duel may be mentioned here. The first comes from Mr. Baker, F.R.C.S.I. Surgeon Peile, who hurried to Bishopscourt for the purpose of affording professional assistance to D'Esterre if required, is described in the Directory of the day as 'Dep. Inspector-General to the Forces.' He generally travelled in a showy carriage with a rich hammer-cloth, and attended by footmen. He kept apprentices, as was usual at that day, and one chancing to hear from the coachman that 'the master had

ordered his carriage to attend the duel,' conceived a strong desire to be present, and privately arranged that he should wear the dress of a footman and go. He did so, and in after years often referred to the adventure. By a decree of the Council of Trent all principals in duels or parties thereto are excommunicated. Father O'Mullane, an eccentric priest, at war with his bishop, and, of course, under censure, repaired also to Bishopscourt, and remained in an adjacent cabin, prepared to give absolution *in articulo mortis* to O'Connell.

CHAPTER II.

Grattan becomes a Vetoist—Mr. Tierney, Sir H. Parnell, Mr. Plunket—Mr. Addington—Philip Whitfield Harvey—Lord Hutchinson—O'Connell's Affair of Honour with Peel—The 'Second' challenged by Peel—A Footpad shot dead—O'Connell arrested in London—A Duel ends in a Dance—A 'Castle Bishop'—O'Connell's domestic Character vindicated by his Wife—Death of Curran—Lord Fingall—O'Connell in Difficulties—O'Conor Don—'Honest Ned Hay'—The Duke of Leinster—'Jack Gifford'—The Dog in Office—'Now or Never' is the time to strike for Emancipation—Charges against the Secretary to the Catholic Board—O'Connell and Grattan reconciled—Visit of George IV. to Ireland—O'Connell sends his Son to fight under Bolivar—Lord Cloncurry—'The Agitator' appointed Attorney-General to the Queen—Catholic Relief Bill of 1821—Sheil's Sycophancy—Lord Donoughmore—O'Connell's Cap.

SOME Crown lawyers had proposed that the Protestant King should exercise a veto in the appointment of Catholic Bishops. It surprised and disappointed O'Connell to find that Grattan, the old and warm friend of Catholic Emancipation, had now begun to favour securities of this sort. 'Would to God,' said O'Connell, 'that I could revive in the mind of Mr. Grattan his former feelings for the Catholics of Ireland—that I could rouse him to that energy with which he once advocated our cause! What securities had he ever spoken of in the Irish Parliament—where were his alarms in 1793? What was in the English air to alter the mental vision, so that it should see gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire, where before it saw nothing but the pleasant prospect of unity, strength, and social security?'

These words gave offence. In April, 1815, Grattan declined to take charge of the Petition of the Catholics of Ireland for Emancipation. O'Connell asked the Knight of Kerry to allow him to commit it to his care. The latter readily assented, and, conjointly with Sir H. Parnell, did good work in the cause of Civil and Religious Freedom.

To the Knight of Kerry.

Merrion Square: 15 May, 1815.

My dear Sir,—Will you allow me to entreat your kind attention to the support of Sir Henry Parnell at the present

most interesting period? It is easy to see that, except from *you* and some few others who are attached to the principle of Religious Freedom, we can expect no cordiality of co-operation. The hackneyed part of the opposition, led by Mr. Tierney, seem disposed to take him in flank, whilst he is met by Abbot and Banks in front, and harassed in the rear by that most ridiculous of all possible casuists, Cox Hippiusley. Add to these the confident assertion of Mr. Plunket that the Petition does not speak the sense of the Catholics of Ireland. I am greatly astonished at Mr. Plunket. He cannot but know that the fact is otherwise, and little as I am disposed to respect the entire of his political life, I did not imagine he was so destitute of that feeling which should place him so far beyond any deviation from truth as to allow him thus to assert. With respect to Kerry, you cannot, with your decisive evidence to contradict that gentleman. You will find to the Petition the name of every Catholic of property in the county—the Galweys and D. Mahony, who hold places, and Hussey, who wishes for at least one, only excepted.

It is, perhaps, a most imperative duty to contradict Mr. Plunket upon this point. As Emancipation of some sort is probably not very distant—with restrictions, besides being wrong in principle—it would be useless in effect without restrictions—it would tend to make Ireland what Scotland is—as Ireland is what Scotland was—an impoverished and discontented people. If they enact restrictions, the effect will be worse than the present state of affairs. The *Crown Priests* will be despised and deserted by the people, who will be amply supplied with enthusiastic anti-anglican friars from the Continent. There is a tendency *already* to substitute friars for any Priests who are supposed to favour the Veto. It is very marked in Dublin already, and they know little of Ireland who suppose that they could *abolish friars* by Law. There really is but one resource—to bestow a *generous* Emancipation that would at once take the people out of the hands of us agitators and of every species of enthusiasts, and by destroying the cause of excitement terminate the fever in the public mind.

Dr. Addington¹ and his medical school may recommend bleeding and boiling water, but the patient is already too strong for these remedies.

I have written an inexcuseably long letter to Sir H. Parnell, and am half disposed to bestow my tediousness equally on *you*. Will you pardon me for doing so, and for again—I am sure unnecessarily—hoping your attention to assist Sir Henry, and to protect him and us from our friend Mr. Plunket? It would amuse me very much to have an opportunity of reasoning with that acute and very sagacious personage.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The following letter has been found in MS. without any explanation other than that afforded by internal evidence. Mr. Staunton conducted the *Freeman's Journal* for its owner, Philip Whitfield Harvey, from 1813. This journal had been subsidised by the Crown previous to that date.

To Michael Staunton.

Merrion Square : 9th June, 1815.

Sir,—I have little leisure for letter-writing at this period of the term, but my answer to your letter shall be explicit. I am wholly unconscious of any claims Mr. Harvey, the proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, can have on me. It seems he has published from the *Cork Chronicle* a report of a speech attributed to me, and this without any interference or encouragement on my part, without any connection subsisting between us or other inducement save those which I presume usually regulate the Proprietor of a newspaper. It would be strange indeed if such a Proprietor, governed solely by views of emolument—as far as I can perceive—should be deemed entitled to turn round upon

¹ Henry Addington, better known as Lord Sidmouth, was the son of a general medical practitioner, and filled the post of Home Secretary during the Liverpool Administration. The Spa-Fields, the Manchester

meetings, and the Cato Street conspiracy gave him a good deal to do. With characteristic energy he opposed and overcame them. Born 1757, died 1844.

the Individual without any previous intercourse, and to exact from him an indemnity against what is called the Law of libel as administered by the Law officers in Ireland.

But this claim must appear the more strange and its object *mysterious*, after the Proprietor has deliberately proclaimed in his paper that the article in question is a heinous libel, and after he has thus not only bespoke a conviction for himself, but gratuitously criminated other persons.

Indeed, what can be the serious objects of a trial under those circumstances? To talk of a trial after so complaisant a plea of 'guilty' would be but a mockery. He has thrown himself on the mercy of an Attorney-General, and as far as in him lay implicated and prejudged the remaining objects of vengeance.

There may possibly be ulterior objects of a trial, but surely Mr. Harvey's defence ceases to be one.

Of the conversation you allude to my recollection is wholly different from the statement in your letter, so is that of Mr. Phillips, who was present. I did more than once express my regret for the apprehension you felt for the probable loss of your situation under Mr. Harvey. And certainly I was perfectly willing to do my utmost towards compensating you personally for any pecuniary inconvenience arising from the publication of a speech which you conceived to be mine. This was a leading object in my mind at the time. I apprehend that the error into which you have fallen proceeds from your mistaking this sentiment towards you for a sense of obligation towards the Proprietor. But I have never felt or avowed any such obligation. There was no room for it between Mr. Harvey and me.

If *he* seriously conceives himself to have any well-founded claim on me, let him bring it forward distinctly and in person, and if in the judgment of any impartial Gentleman of honor acquainted with the facts it shall be deemed a well-founded claim in *honor* or *justice*, it shall be yielded to. I make this offer as my final answer, and you will allow me, in conclusion, to express my hope and wish

that any future communication *on this* subject may proceed from him alone.

I am, Sir, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.²

*To Nicholas Mahon.*³

Limerick : 19th March, 1815.

My dear Friend,—You have at the other side a letter to Lord Hutchinson, the best I can compose. Alter it as you please and put my name to it. I have not as yet heard from Ponsonby,⁴ but I expect to be able to give you satisfactory information from him before the close of the week. The truth is that the late news has, I believe, postponed all communication.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

(ENCLOSURE.)

March, 1815.

My Lord,—We are quite convinced that your Lordship will at least excuse the liberty we take in addressing you on a subject mightily interesting to us, as you cannot mistake the motives which induce us to address you ; they are easily to be found in the entire and unlimited confidence which we, in common with all the other Catholics of Ireland, place in your hereditary attachment to religious liberty, and in that high and ever untarnished honour which has distinguished every member of your noble house.

We have been appointed by the Catholic Association to procure our Petition to the Commons to be presented by a member of that House who concurs with the Earl of Donoughmore, and with us in the propriety of a discussion,

² Staunton replied, and O'Connell, in a second letter, said : ' Your statement of facts is so very wide of my conception of them that, as I have neither leisure nor inclination for polemics, I must assert my right to close the correspondence with this letter.' In after years they

became good friends, as will be seen.

³ A prominent member of the Catholic Board, and almost a millionaire.

⁴ The Right Hon. George Ponsonby, a patriotic member of the late Irish Parliament.

on our claims, during the present session. We feel the great importance to our cause of entrusting our Petition to the member between whom and the Earl of Donoughmore a cordial communion of sentiments and co-operation of arrangements may be expected. We, however, feel a delicacy in applying to that noble Lord on this subject, but the causes of that delicacy not applying to your Lordship, we take the liberty of requesting your advice and assistance upon this occasion. We entreat the honour of a reply addressed under cover to Nicholas Mahon, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. That reply, as well as the contents of this letter, shall ever remain under the seal of confidential and inviolable secrecy.⁵

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Mr., afterwards Sir Robert, Peel, who was destined to play an important part as Prime Minister, filled at this time the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland. His sympathies were so openly given to the Party of Ascendancy that some folk gave him the sobriquet of 'Orange-Peel.' The R. I. Constabulary Force is due to his energy, and the people, to mark their sense of this effort to keep them quiet, nicknamed the police 'Peelers.' At a meeting of Roman Catholics in August, 1815, O'Connell said: 'All I shall say of him (Mr. Peel) by way of parenthesis is, that I am told he has, in my absence, and in a place where he was privileged from any account, grossly traduced me. I said, at the last meeting, in presence of the note-takers of the police, who are paid by him, that he was too prudent to attack me in my presence. I see the same police-informers here now; and I authorise them carefully to report these my words, that Mr. Peel would not *dare*, in my presence, or in any place where he was liable to personal account, use a single expression derogatory to my interest or my honour.'

This passage caught Peel's eye, and he at once sent Sir Charles Saxton to demand an explanation. Some delay in the pending arrangements occurred, and Saxton then published a statement in the papers.

⁵ Major-General Hutchinson received his peerage for having driven the French from Egypt. Born 1757,

died 1832. He succeeded his brother as Earl of Donoughmore in 1825.

To the Editor of 'Carrick's Post.'

Merrion Square: Sept. 3rd, 1815.

Sir,—The very novel and extraordinary course pursued by Mr. Peel and Sir Charles Saxton having terminated in a newspaper publication, I beg of you to publish the enclosed, which I received from my friend Mr. Lidwill.

The dexterity of my adversary in publishing on Saturday evening has given him what I suppose he estimates highly—one day's talking at me. This paltry trick he resorts to; and yet he declares that he 'feels anxious for an early statement of a transaction' which occurred two days before!!!

The conversation between Sir Charles Saxton and me is very inaccurately stated by that gentleman in the *Correspondent*. I will only notice two particulars: first, his omitting to mention that on my expressing my own opinion on the fitness of my sending to Mr. Peel, I added, 'any friend would disappoint my hopes and wishes who should advise me not to call on Mr. Peel;' and secondly, his inserting the last reply which he has attributed to himself—not one word of which did he utter in my presence.

For the rest, I leave the case to the Irish public. I have disavowed nothing; I have refused the gentleman nothing. I have only to regret that they have ultimately preferred a paper war. I am, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Dublin Castle: Sept. 4, 1815, six o'clock.

Sir,—Having seen in a newspaper of this evening a letter bearing your signature, connected with a communication which I have recently made to you, imputing to me 'a paltry trick,' and concluding with the expression of your regret that I had 'ultimately preferred a paper war,' I have to request that you will appoint a friend who may make with Colonel Brown, the bearer of this letter, such arrangements as the case requires. I am, Sir, &c.,

ROBERT PEEL.

Daniel O'Connell, Esq.

George Lidwill, a Protestant, proffered his services as 'second' to O'Connell. Several letters having passed, Lidwill wrote urging O'Connell to have 'horses ready for an immediate meeting in a field near Celbridge.'

To George Lidwill.

Harcourt Street: Friday.

My dear Friend,—Do just as you please. I only think the County of Kildare ought to be the place. I care not where there. Everything will be ready expeditiously. My family would be less alarmed if we postpone it till morning; but do just as you please. I will remain here.

Yours,

D. O'CONNELL.

To the Knight of Kerry, M.P.

(Private.)

Merrion Square: Monday evening [September, 1815].

My dear Sir,—I want a friend most sadly and venture to think of you. Mr. Lidwill cannot assist me, for he is himself involved with Sir Charles Saxton.⁶ My affair is, as you may imagine, with Mr. Peel. He has just sent me a well-written challenge from the Castle, and if you would allow me to trespass upon you, I would wait on you as early as you pleased in the morning and explain to you how the matter stands. A Colonel Browne is the person who has called on me from him. His address is Stephen's Green North.

Should you have any difficulty or delicacy in granting me this favour—and there are a thousand reasons which may most properly prevent you—let me have a line by the bearer to say so. If the contrary, let me know at what hour in the morning I could see you. The sooner this affair is over the better.

I am, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁶ Lidwill met Sir Charles Saxton at Calais, received his fire, and then discharged his own pistol in the air.

To the Knight of Kerry.

Tuesday.

I wish to see you to express my sincere gratitude for your kindness, and to take your friend's advice on my present most unfortunate predicament. The triumph of those who will *now* traduce me ought to be but short-lived. However, I must say that I am very awkwardly circumstanced, and require more than ever your friendly aid. I wish it may be possible for me to express to you how truly grateful I am for your kindness.

To the Knight of Kerry.

Merrion Square : 5 Sep. 1815.

My dear Sir,—I *cannot* go out in the morning—at least before twelve o'clock, and yet I wish very much to see you. The very kind and active interest which you took in my affair this day will be ever remembered by me, and induces me to ask you to favour me, if possible, with a call in the morning, or to be at home for me at three in the afternoon. I want not a little to speak to you.⁷

I am, with sincere regard, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A letter from O'Connell to R. N. Bennett is preserved redolent of rural seclusion, and suggesting a ruse for baffling the pursuit of men who were evidently on the watch for him.

I find another addressed to his wife, telling her to send him some things, but without entering into any explanation. The seconds finally arranged that Peel and O'Connell should proceed to the Continent and there fight. O'Connell succeeded in reaching London without detection, but he was at last secured—not in bed at his lodgings, as some chronicles say, but when stepping into a chaise for Dover.

The following letter is addressed to his brother-in-law, James Connor. This gentleman had conformed to the Protestant Church so as to qualify to become an attorney ;

⁷ These letters, besides being interesting, are important, as placing in its true light the affair with Peel. In Croker's *Memoirs*, it is erroneously stated, on the authority of some

notes made by Mr. Justice Keogh, that Peel, after attacking O'Connell in Parliament, sent a message implying his readiness to accept a challenge.

but he reared his children Catholics, and shortly before his death returned to the creed of his fathers. One night Brennan, the noted highwayman, stopped Connor's chaise on the Curragh and demanded his money or his life. Connor feigned to grope for his pocket-book, but producing a pistol shot him dead.

To James Connor, Attorney, Tralee.

Holilands, Strand, London: 19 Sept. 1815.

My dear James,—You will find with this a letter from Mary, and the newspapers will tell you of the ludicrous termination of our once serious affair. Prepare Mary for my letter before you hand it to her. Lidwill was arrested the moment of his arrival here, and I escaped until I was putting my foot into the chaise for Dover this morning. After all, I do not think our enemies have the smallest triumph, nor is there any reason for regret, as we did all in our power to give to the gentlemen a meeting, and that it has been prevented is altogether occasioned by that Government of which they are the representatives in Ireland. They, too, were the challengers, so that any injury they have to complain of remains unredressed.⁸

I will stay in London this night to refresh myself, and then be back to my family and trade as speedily as possible. A thousand and a thousand loves to all with you.

Your affectionate Brother,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Merrion Square: 30th Sept. 1815.

My darling Heart,—Here I am again, surrounded by my babes, and thinking of my own darling, their mother. Nell⁹ is greatly improved, even in the short space I have

⁸ O'Connell was charged with inconsistency for having maintained friendly relations with Peel during the mission to London, in 1825. His reply, in the *Dublin Evening Post* of November 3rd following, admits that friendly intercourse did take

place, expresses regret for the affair of 1815, and praises Peel's later policy. This letter has been overlooked by the biographers of both.

⁹ His eldest daughter, afterwards Mrs. FitzSimon, a highly cultured poetess.

been away. Betsey and John are delightfully well and most excellent children. How the doats cling to me!—and our sweetest little Ricarda¹ is just the greatest treasure in the world. It will cheer you to see what *a woman* she is grown.

I left London on Monday and posted to Shrewsbury, and travelled thence in the day-coach to Holyhead. We reached the Head on Thursday at one o'clock, and sailed at three. The night came to blow tremendously and the packet was crowded to excess. Not a berth could be had for love or money. I lay on the cabin floor as sick as a dog, with three gentlemen's legs on my breast and stomach, and the sea water dripping in on my knees and feet. I was never so compleatly punished, and of all the wretched nights that we ever spent it really was the most miserable. We, however, got in rather early yesterday. I tumbled into bed as soon as I breakfasted, and am as well this day as ever I was in the whole course of my life—so much so that, but for Bess' letter, I should have set off to-day for Kerry. Bess says you will be here on Tuesday. Darling, I shall remain till Monday, and unless I hear by that day's post of you, I will be off for Tralee by the way of Limerick. Kiss my darling Kate for me, and believe me beyond the power of words

Your doatingly fond

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Addressed 'Mrs. Counsellor O'Connell, Killarney.'

When writing to James Connor he little guessed the source from whence the whisper of betrayal came.

To Colonel Brown.

Mr. O'Connell presents his compliments to Colonel Brown, and with the utmost concern begs to inform him that the delay to which his letter alludes has been caused by a circumstance of the most painful nature—his having been put under arrest by the Sheriff—which is still aggravated, in his feelings, from having been done at the instance of Mrs. O'Connell, who, agitated by the publications in

¹ Mrs. O'Connell's niece, afterwards the wife of Mr. John Primrose. From the family Bible, however, it

appears that O'Connell had a daughter named Ricarda, born in May, 1815, who died young.

the newspapers, sent privately, and after he had gone to bed, to the Sheriff. Mr. O'Connell will, the first possible moment, send a friend to Colonel Brown, to make such arrangements as the present state of things renders necessary.

O'Connell, after his arrest, returned to Dublin, having been bound in heavy recognisances to keep the peace everywhere, and told by Justice Le Blanc that if he and Peel fought afterwards, and either were killed, the survivor would be tried and assuredly hanged for murder.

But Peel seemed bent on having blood, and Lidwill, months later, received the following letter from him:—

Calais : Nov. 29, 1815.

Sir,—In one of the Dublin newspapers of the 4th September a letter was published with your signature attached to it, purporting to contain an account of what had occurred in conversation between Sir Charles Saxton and you upon the subject of a transaction in which I was concerned.

If you had strictly confined yourself to a report of that which passed at your interviews with Sir Charles Saxton, I should not have thought it necessary to address you; but you have thought fit to make, in addition, some offensive comments upon my conduct, which will be pointed out by Colonel Brown, the bearer of this letter, and for which I must demand ample reparation.

Peel's bitterness towards Lidwill is explained by the fact that the Protestant Emancipators of that day were more odious to the Ascendancy than the Catholic agitators themselves. Cooke Taylor, the biographer of Peel, says that they were regarded as renegades to their religion, and traitors to the cause of their brethren. Happily Peel and Lidwill never afterwards met. Peel dreaded lest his father should resent the attitude in which he posed, and instructed Croker to keep the affair out of the *Courier*, the paper which the old gentleman read.

Daniel O'Connell to his son Morgan.

Merrion Square : 19 May, 1815.

My dear Morgan,—Your mother and I are greatly pleased at the regularity with which Maurice and you write

to us, and we have a notion that it is a greater compliment from you than from Maurice, because he has at least the appearance of being more attentive. I am quite sure that you, my dear child, are as affectionate as he is, and you cannot possibly take any better method of proving that you are so than by attending to your improvement.

John and the girls are in great spirits at finding that you and Maurice consider yourselves so happy and comfortable at College.² I, too, am myself very much pleased at that circumstance. I will contrive to see you both in a very few days; sooner I could not do it, as the Courts have continued to sit all the latter part of this week.

To his son Maurice.

Merrion Square: 2d June, 1815.

My dearest Maurice,—I have time to write but little to you this day, and would not write at all only that your Mama has fixed on Sunday for christening your little Sister, so that I can not go down to see you until Sunday week. Your uncle Maurice is out for a fishing rod and flies for you, as I am most happy to give you and your brother any indulgence which your Superiors in the College think you may deserve or be permitted to have. I am also very well pleased that you had nothing to do with the shameful plot to turn the professors into ridicule. I hope Morgan kept himself quite free of it also. Tell him I will write to him shortly, and that his little sister is as compleat a Fox as he is.

Your tenderly affectionate Father,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his son Morgan.

Limerick: 6 Aug. 1816.

My darling Morgan,—I was greatly pleased with your letter. It delighted me to find that you were advanced in your class. The truth is, that if you took it into your red

² Morgan was at Clongowes Wood College, county Kildare, at this time.

head you could easily be head of the class. I am quite sure you could, but a little laziness and a little carelessness combine to keep you down. At all events it is pleasing to see that you are rising in the class, and makes me hope you will soon determine to be first of it. Do, my sweet Morgan, take the trouble for one examination, and I promise you that you never will think it a trouble again.

Did you hear of the great duel in Ennis between Charles O'Connell and Mr. Wall? The latter abused a relation of Charley's, a Mr. Blood, and Charley knocked Wall down. They then fought, fired a shot each, came home safe and arm-in-arm together, got tipsy in company with each other, went together to the ball and danced till morning.

I am glad, very glad to find that you and Maurice are very fond of your sweet little sisters and my good John. John, you must know, is a most excellent boy; there cannot be a better, and sure you all doat *down, down* on my sweet little red duck. Upon you she has a particular claim, because she is a sister of the fox breed, and will be as great a rogue as possible.

Give my tenderest love, my love beyond expression in softness and constancy, to your sweet mother, the best darling that ever blessed man with delightful children. Tell her that this is my birthday, and I rejoice in that birth because she has made my life happy. Kiss the sweet red rogue for me. Then there will be, I believe, two red rogues kissing.

Your most affectionate Father,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

24 Novemb. 1816.

My dearest Morgan,—I intended to have gone down to you on Thursday, but, finding that it will not be in my power to see you till next week, I write lest you should be disappointed. The fact is, my child, I have too much cause to fear that I shall hear the most melancholy account of your poor grandmother—my ever dear and beloved mother. I promise to go down next week and to take Mr.

Phillips³ to see you. Tell my darling Maurice that I shall bring down the books he wishes for. If you or he want anything write instantly to your mother, and she will have it carefully packed for me to carry.

Professional hurry makes me forget those things, but your mother does not love you better or more tenderly than I do. Let your letter contain a distinct list of everything you and Maurice want, and repeat again the books, &c., he has already written for, that nothing may be forgotten.

*To Edward Hay.*⁴

Limerick : 27th July, 1817.

My dear Friend,—I perceive ‘the pliant Trojan’⁵ has got Dr. Murray’s⁶ support for the Veto. Their publication of their letter to you was intended to intimidate other Bishops from that zealous opposition to the Veto which the people look for, and the times require. The person I am most surprised at is *you*. Why did you not instantly counteract the poison, by publishing all such replies as you received reprobatory of the Veto, and favorable to Domestic Nomination?⁷ I presume you are waiting for more, but as the war began at the other side, you ought at once to have published every publishable letter.

I conjure you to let Dr. Coppinger’s and Dr. O’Shaughnessy’s letters see the day as soon as possible.⁸ Discretion will injure, not serve us on this point.

³ The late Mr. Commissioner Phillips, author of *Curran and his Contemporaries*.

⁴ Secretary to the Catholic Board.

⁵ This alludes to Æneas MacDonnell, who was generally at issue with O’Connell. But Æneas wrestled with Achilles. Dr. Troy had showed some hospitable attention to MacDonnell, and one evening Lord Norbury exclaimed: ‘Behold pious Æneas coming from the *Sack of Troy!*’

⁶ Archbishop Murray.

⁷ Of Bishops.

⁸ During the imprisonment of the

Pope by Napoleon, Monsignor, afterwards Cardinal, Quarantotti, acted as the Vicegerent of His Holiness. In 1814 he addressed to Dr. Poynter, R.C. Bishop of the London District, a Rescript conceding the Veto, whereupon Dr. O’Shaughnessy, Bishop of Killaloe, wrote: ‘The result of this pernicious document, if acted upon, would be fatal to the Catholic religion; therefore I hasten to protest against it, and while I have breath in my body will continue to do so.’ Dr. Coppinger, Bishop of Cloyne, was not less outspoken. He pronounced ‘Mr. Quarantotti’s decree a very dangerous document,’ adding

I am, I own, greatly shocked at the part Dr. Murray is taking.⁹ I had the highest opinion of him, and the greatest respect for him. But I see he wishes, with Dr. Troy's see, to inherit the patronage of the Catholic Church of Ireland. Oh! it is melancholy to think of his falling off—he who compared the Vetoists to Judas. As to Dr. Troy, better could not be expected from him. His traffic at the Castle is long notorious. But the sneer at the Board, and the suppressed anger of those prelates, would be ludicrous if the subject were not too important and vital. Are they angry because we urge not the *name*, but the reality of Domestic Nomination? Alas, the fact is, that is just the cause of their ill temper and the source of their attack upon us.

You cannot conceive anything more lively than the abhorrence of these Vetoistical plans amongst the people at large. I really think they will go near to desert all such Clergymen as do not now take an active part on the question. The Methodists were never in so fair a way of making converts. Publish, my dear friend, publish. The Ennis Aggregate¹ was the most numerous ever known. Send me by return the Address of *all* the Bishops.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell's personal bitterness as a politician drew upon him an amount of ill-feeling rarely equalled. The voice of scandal spoke at his expense. In prose and verse even his domestic character was impugned, the privacy of his home invaded, and the happiness and purity of his married life denied. Many stories not deficient in humour became

* In common with every real friend to the integrity of the Catholic religion in Ireland, I read it with feelings of disgust and indignation.'

⁹ O'Connell, in some lines now before me, and penned long subsequent to the date of the above, records his high estimate of Dr. Murray.

¹ A more intimate acquaintance since *that* period has confirmed these sentiments. If any man were peculiarly

formed to conquer prejudice and abash calumny, that man is Dr. Murray.' This ecclesiastic, who filled the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, survived until 1852. He was assistant prelate to Archbishop Troy—*cum jure successionis*—from 1809 to the death of the latter in 1823.

¹ Aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Clare.

current at the time, and as some of them have been revived in a recent compilation, it may be well to show on authentic evidence how untenable they are. Here is one letter—and a hundred such could be adduced—recording Mrs. O'Connell's opinion of the man after a conjugal experience of near fifteen years. Composition was not the *forte* of the little Kerry girl, whom he was all but disinherited for marrying, but her words have an earnestness all their own.

Clifton: July the 14th, 1817.

My own darling Dan,—I assure you, my darling, you are our continual subject. When a kind husband or Father is spoken of, Ellen and Kate will exclaim, 'Mamma, sure he is not so good a husband or Father as our Father.' You may guess, darling, what my reply is. You know what you deserve, and you are aware that in existence I don't think there is such a Husband and Father as you are and always have been. Indeed, I think *it* quite impossible there could, and if the truest and tenderest affection can repay you, believe me that I feel and bear it for you. In truth, my own Dan, I am always at a loss for words to convey to you how I love and doat of you. Many and many a time I exclaim to myself, 'What a happy creature am I; how grateful should I be to Providence for bestowing on me such a husband!' And so, indeed, I am. We will, Love, shortly be fifteen years married, and I can answer that I never have had cause to repent it. I have, darling, experienced all the happiness of the married state without feeling any of *its* cares, thanks to a fond and indulgent husband.

To Charles Phillips.

Bath: 16th October, 1817.

My dear Charles,—I got letters from both the Currans yesterday, containing the melancholy intelligence of their father's death. I will go up to the funeral the moment I hear from you or them. William, in his letter, promises to write again this day. What a man has Ireland lost! His utility, to be sure, was in his very latter days neutralised by

illness and absence; but what a man was he! Of *all*—the only incorrupted and faithful. . . .

There is a loneliness and heaviness over me when I think of this great man whom we have lost. Charles, there never was *so* honest an Irishman. His very soul was Republican Irish. Look to his history in 1778, in '82, in 1798—at the Union—at all times—in all places. Look to it, my dear friend—even for your own sake, but, above all, for his: you must erect a monument to both.

Write to me the moment you receive this letter and just say how long I can remain here, and be in full time for the funeral. All the Irish in London, of all classes, must be invited. The upper ranks by cards—the lower, thus:—A printed bill must be sent to all the public houses resorted to by the working Irish, to mention the hour when the funeral will commence, and to request that all persons will fall in, two by two, as they arrive, at the remote end of the procession. I think it would be as well that all persons were required to wear a shamrock. Perhaps this may be said to be too fantastical; but I think it would be well. On *his* coffin should be laid a broken harp and a wreath of shamrock. I rather think there should be a committee formed to make arrangements. Whether I go to town or not on Saturday, or wait until Monday, will depend on young Curran's letter of this date. It would affect you to see how sensibly my little girls feel *his* death. There have been some wet eyes, I promise you. Remember me most kindly to both the Currans, and believe me always,

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The remains of Curran obtained burial in Paddington Graveyard, but in 1839 were removed to the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Glasnevin, near Dublin, where a classic monument to his memory has since been raised.

O'Connell had now become so popular that I find a handsome medal struck by Mossop to commemorate his services. It bears a fine likeness of the man of the people,

with a wreath of oak leaves and shamrock surrounding the words, 'Erin ma vourneen.'

To J. Charles Lyons, Attorney.

Merrion Square : 18th Dec. 1817.

My dear Friend,—Will you be so kind as to look at the account at the other side, and if it be correct send me the amount by the bearer. Excuse me for writing to you so pressingly, but I know you will readily accommodate me, if quite convenient, as I have a very large and unexpected payment to make this day or rather to-morrow. Do what you can for me in that respect and you will oblige

Yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The account appended was a long one—embracing a number of items, from drafting an answer in Chancery (£3 8s. 3d.) to 'Case directing plaintiff's proofs' (£1 2s. 9d.) At the foot of the account O'Connell marks it 'Paid, and I owe seven shillings.'

The Earl of Fingall, a Catholic peer of irreproachable character, possessed a patient and conciliatory temperament, and deprecated, as injudicious, the zeal of O'Connell.

In 1817 the O'Conor Don addressed a private letter to his lordship, in which, after many other remarks, he said : 'Wishing, as I do, to see a nobleman I so much esteem and respect at our head, and anxious as I am to enjoy the same privileges with my Protestant neighbours, and believing that unanimity is necessary, I am sure you will give me credit for good intentions.'

A copy of this letter was submitted to O'Connell, who returned it with the following words:—

'My dear Friend,—I wish my approbation was of any value, for I much approve of your letter. I hope we will not much longer suffer the misery of being a degraded and inferior class.'

Preserved with the letters addressed to Connell O'Connell are a sheaf of original acceptances, showing how severe

were the early struggles through which the future Liberator passed. His labours in organising the torpid Catholics involved him in a heavy expenditure, for which long after he was tardily reimbursed. Connell. O'Connell was a kinsman of Dan's: their professional relations were those of attorney and counsel.

To Connell O'Connell.

Merrion Square: 18th May, 1818.

My dear Connell,—Indeed, indeed you annoy me very very much. Did I not tell you most explicitly that I was very grievously pressed for money this day? and surely if I could do without it I would not draw on you.

With respect to the balance you mention it was allowed you in my computation of fees, for it was I who took up the last bill I drew upon you for that purpose, and if you had accepted the two bills I drew on you we should not be more than just *clear*. I do conjure you to accept them and to send them to me by the bearer. If you wish to serve and oblige me you will do it—or give me the £100 in cash and accept the longer bill of the two. I had reckoned on you most confidently, and am sure, when you recollect the pressure that is on me, you will not refuse me. I therefore again beg of you to send me at least one of the bills accepted and the cash, or both bills accepted. Pray, pray now do not disappoint me.

Yours sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I again repeat that it is the actual want of the money makes me thus urge you. And I again beg of you to give me this lift.

To Michael Staunton, Esq.

Killarney: 24 August, 1818.

My dear Staunton,—You will oblige by getting the *Freeman's Journal* directed to me for the next month to 'Darrinane, near Cahirciveen.'

For God's sake, who is Milesius? An admirable writer at all events. I have been and am exerting myself to get your paper into the clubs here. You are now the 'longe et facile primus' of the Irish press. I think you ought to encourage the painters to join in their petitions against the window tax. If they act separately they will fritter away their strength. Besides, the *little Parliament* is of infinite value, and will habituate the people to form an organ to express the public sentiment on affairs of greater moment.

In the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle* of about a week ago there was a little poem of my son's, entitled 'The Shamrock.' I wish you could give it a corner. It is not destitute of some merit.²

Believe me,
DANL. O'CONNELL.

To Mathias O'Kelly.

[Water mark 1818.]

My dear Friend,—Enclosed you have the requisition for a Catholic meeting. I entreat of you to get—this day and to-morrow, and until two o'clock on Monday—as many signatures of respectable people as you can. Bring it to me to Court on Monday.

Saturday morning.

*To O'Conor Don.*³

Monday, 27th August, 1818.

My dear Friend,—I am organising a dinner in aid of civil and religious liberty.

The Duke of Leinster will be in the chair. Lords Meath and Fingall, Vice-Presidents. The latter will be asked by deputation. It will be a grand and, I hope, a useful affair.

² The poem, occupying fifty lines, is devoted to praise of Moore, and begins:—

Oh! for the harp of him whose
genius bore
The Teian bard to Erin's emerald
shore,
Who linked in one bright chain
those lays of fire—

The matchless melodies of Erin's
lyre.

It will be remembered that O'Connell regarded Moore's *Melodies* as a valuable aid in the effort to accomplish Catholic Emancipation.

³ Then editor of the *Freeman's Journal*.

To O'Conor Don.

2nd Novr. 1818.

My dear Friend,—I have been all day at Green Street (Court House) defending a *Raper*. I have the pleasure to tell you that on Saturday you will find Lord Fingall⁴ and his friends at D'Arcy's. For the sake of the cause be here on Friday. I have just heard from a credible person in London that Emancipation is certain. *I believe it.*—In haste,

Ever yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To O'Conor Don.

Merrion Square: 21st Decr. 1818.

My dear Friend,—I am just the very worst letter-writer in the world, and I cannot give a stronger proof of it than that I have left the letters of, believe me, one of the persons in the world for whom I entertain the most sincere regard and esteem, so long unanswered—and those letters too on a topic the most interesting. Pray excuse me, and if you *do* blame me, let it not be on the imputation of want of those sentiments which would induce me to shew the very kindest and most respectful attention to anything that comes from you.

I entirely agree with you in your present view of Catholic affairs. We must do without Lord Fingall, and, in truth, I am sincerely sorry for it, because he is an excellent gentleman, and personally as pure as gold, but unhappily subject to some influence from less clean quarters. No matter, we must do without him. But we must not arraign his motives. I am decidedly for petitioning. If I petition alone, I *will* petition. The question seems to be how that can be done effectually. The [Catholic] Board is defunct. *Honest Ned Hay*⁵ has outlawed us all. He makes no distinctions. There are many debts due—there

⁴ The head of the Catholic laity of Ireland. D'Arcy's was an hotel in which they met.

⁵ Mr. Hay had filled the post of Secretary to the Catholic Board.

is a great indisposition to *organize*. Yet there is not wanting among the people zeal and anxiety. But what is to be done? I am ready to concur with you in any plan you think best. I will join in anything you choose, or set on foot any *system* as far as I can that strikes you as likely to succeed. In the meantime I have thrown together hastily a letter to the Catholics of Ireland. After I have cooled on my first impressions, I will print it in the *Weekly Register* of the 2nd of January and send you a paper. I mean to put my name to it. This should not, however, suspend any plan you may form. Pray shew that you forgive my silence by answering this. Requesting my kind regards to your family, and wishing most sincerely to you and them many happy returns of the season,

I remain, faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell had already heard whispers of treachery in the Catholic body, and was sensitively alive to any act which could be strained to look ugly. In the *Wellington Correspondence* a letter appears from Sir A. Wellesley to Lord Hawkesbury, dated January 8, 1808, and stating :

'The extracts of letters sent to you by Lord Grenville were sent to us by —, the Catholic orator, two months ago. The — mentioned is a man who was desirous of being employed by Government as a spy; and his trade is that of spy to all parties. He offered himself to —, Lord Fingall, and others, as well as to us, and we now watch him closely.'⁶

Who this man is we are not informed.

In November, 1819, O'Connell brought several charges against the Secretary of the Catholic Board, Mr. Hay, one of which was that, without authority, he opened communication in writing with a Cabinet Minister. *Carrick's Morning Post*, of December 11, 1819, contains a long reply from Mr. Hay, in which, however, I do not find any attempt to meet this allegation.⁷

⁶ London, 1860. *Civil Correspondence*, p. 291.

⁷ Hay was a fussy, smart, and, at times, an indiscreet man, but one

must hope 'honest,' though O'Connell, in a foregoing letter, uses the adjective ironically. Hay had worked for thirty years as secretary

In estimating at its due value O'Connell's unpaid services to the Catholic cause, it is well to know that all this time his Bar business was so great that from morning till night he had no leisure to break his fast. This statement is not framed on oral testimony, which is prone to exaggerate. The fact transpires in letters from his wife. One dated 'Dublin, 11th April, 1817,' and written to her husband when attending the Cork Assizes, goes on to say:—

Mrs. O'Connell to her Husband.

My dearest Love,—I wish to God you could contrive to get out of Court for a quarter of an hour during the middle of the day to take a bowl of soup or a snack of some kind. Surely, though you may not be able to spare time to go to a tavern, could not James get anything you wished for from the Bar mess at your lodgings, which is merely a step from the Court House? Do, my heart, try to accomplish this; for, really, I am quite unhappy to have you fasting from an early hour in the morning until nine or ten o'clock at night. I wish I was with you to make you take care of yourself. I am quite sure there is not another barrister on your circuit would go through half the fatigue you do without taking necessary nourishment. . . .

To O'Conor Don.

Merrion Square: 6th January, 1819.

My dear Friend,—We are thinking of agitating again. All is arranged to wait on the Duke of Leinster on Sunday next to beg his signature to a requisition to the Lord Mayor for a Protestant meeting in our favour. Lord Charlemont, Lord Cloncurry, &c. &c., will sign. We hope Lord Fingall will be one of the party to the Duke. I wish to God you were

to the Catholics of Ireland, but was superseded at this time in favour of Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman, afterwards a County Court judge. Hay died of actual want in 1826. It is due to all parties to record that O'Connell brought before the Catholic Association the destitute

state in which Hay's large family were left, admitted the great services which for a lengthened period he had rendered to the Catholic cause, and then and there opened a fund for their relief. Hay's *History of the Rebellion of 1798* is a valuable personal narrative.

here. Indeed we put the journey off till Sunday in hopes you may come up.

I enclose you the last letter I got from Lord Fingall. You see that he *would* come to meet a few of us. He will be in town in a few days. This would be an additional reason for your coming up, but that, I fear, would be quite inconvenient at this season.

I got Staunton⁸ to send you a paper with my address. I had but one object in writing it—to shew that it was possible to call the Catholics together without introducing one irrelevant or irritating topic. I was as tame as Church music in order to achieve that purpose. But did you see how *your friend* of the *Dublin Journal* attacked me? Many a ludicrous and curious incident has occurred to me in the Catholic cause, but anything so wanton and malignant as this miserable Scotch pedlar's attack was never known. The barking of a cur dog⁹ is sense compared with it. I am perfectly right in everything he contradicts. The fellow told Lawless¹ that he expected to increase the circulation of his paper by assailing me, even amongst the Catholics. Upon my soul I should not be surprised if he did; but that shall never make me relax. On the contrary, it puts me in spirits for further exertion.

Yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁸ Mr. Staunton had now started the *Register*, an influential Catholic organ.

⁹ The editor of the *Dublin Journal* was Jack Gifford, familiarly known as 'the dog in office.' It appears, from the *Wellington Correspondence*, that Pitt deemed him of sufficient importance for promotion. Every friend of civil and religious liberty was assailed in his paper. Grattan, having been accused of treasonable designs, retorted in a way which shows that, although he had a great command of language, yet in this instance language had the com-

mand of *him*: 'It proceeds from the hired traducer of his country, the excommunicated of his fellow-citizens, the regal rebel, the unpunished ruffian, the bigoted agitator. In the city, a firebrand; in the court, a liar; in the streets, a bully; in the field, a coward. And so obnoxious is he to the very party he wishes to espouse, that he is only supportable by doing those dirty acts the less vulgar refuse to execute.'

¹ John Lawless, afterwards known in the struggle as 'Honest Jack Lawless,' edited the *Ulster Magazine* at this time.

To O'Conor Don.

Merrion Square: 11th February, 1819.

My dear Friend,—Are you not delighted that you did not stay in the country and plead, as you might, business, &c. &c. ?

Get the signatures you mention, and as fast as you can.

Could you not contrive to make me and the Grattans acquainted? It was a Grecian patriot that said, 'Strike, but hear!' I was going to swear that Ireland has as true patriots.² I would cringe to no man, but I would join every man who wishes well to Ireland. See whether, without derogating, we could *all* join.³

I return your congratulations on the day.—In some haste, but in great sincerity, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To O'Conor Don.

Merrion Square: 15th June, 1819.

My dear Friend,—I should have written to you from circuit. Allow me now to ask whether you can, without inconvenience, come to town before Saturday next? We have wanted you for some time, but I was unwilling to be

² O'Connell, in his letters written during the struggle for Emancipation, never counts on the help of his archbishop, Dr. Troy. Rickard O'Connell, B.L., addressing the present writer, says:—

'Of Dr. Troy I remember hearing him tell, so long ago as 1822, that the patriot Lord Cloncurry of that day told him he was but twice in his life at the Castle when he had urgent business, and on both occasions he saw Dr. Troy in the Vice-regal antechamber. In fact the Liberator looked on Dr. Troy then as quite a Castle bishop, ready for the Veto or Quarantotti's Rescript, or any measure of that sort pleasing to the Government.'

Dr. Troy, it should be added, lived

in critical times, and were it not for his influence with the Castle, the Catholic chapels in his diocese would, it is said, have been summarily closed in '98.

³ The great Grattan of 1782 had become old and querulous at this time. In a public speech he said that O'Connell, in enumerating the grievances of Ireland, had failed to include its greatest grievance—himself. Shortly before his death, in the following year, a deputation from the Catholic Association, headed by O'Connell, waited on him, when the old patriot became seemingly reconciled to the coming Liberator. With Grattan's sons, Henry and James, O'Connell maintained cordial relations to the end.

instrumental in bringing you from home until the utility of your honesty, conciliatory temper, and admitted respectability became obvious. If you can come up, you will, I think, be the means of a perfect Union. It seems to many honest men necessary so to recommence operations as to be *certainly* before the next meeting of Parliament, or at least in the first week of their sitting. We have been materially injured by the late period in which the question has always come on.

Affectionately yours,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To O'Conor Don.

Merrion Square : 21st Octr. 1819.

My dear Friend,—Whose fault will it be if we are not emancipated this session? I think our own. One grand effort now ought to emancipate us, confined, as it should be, exclusively to our own question. After *that* I would, I acknowledge, join the reformer's hand as well as heart, unless *they* do now emancipate. By they, of course I mean the Parliament.

I intend instantly to set the cause in motion. This great experiment is worth making. I think you will let me have your assistance. I write by this post to Lord Fingall. I am strongly prompted by our friends in Parliament. I wish to God you could come up *at once* to help me. If we *shew out* before the Regent's speech is prepared, perhaps we may be remembered in it. If you agree with me that this time requires a sacrifice you will come up.⁴ My own opinion is that we will be emancipated *now or never*.

I came to town only yesterday, and already I have many irons in the fire to raise the blaze which should lead us to victory. I want you much, and the cause wants you more.—Believe me ever, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁴ The O'Conor Don resided in Connaught.

Extract from another Letter of the same date.

‘The period is at length arrived when we may ascertain, and place beyond any doubt, whether it be determined that we are for ever to remain a degraded and inferior class in our native land, and so to remain, without any one rational cause, or even any one avowable pretext. We may now reduce the enemies of liberty of conscience to this dilemma—either now to grant us Emancipation, or to proclaim to us, and to the world, that as long as the Parliament shall be constituted as it is at present, so long all hope of Emancipation is to be totally extinguished.

‘To this dilemma our enemies may be reduced, and it is a precious advantage to be able, for the first time in the history of Catholic affairs, to place them in a situation in which emancipation cannot be refused without an avowal of stern, unrelenting, and inexorable bigotry; or of worse, of a disposition to make use of bigotry as an instrument to perpetuate the divisions, dissensions, and consequent degradation and oppression of Ireland.’

O’Connell, writing to FitzPatrick on May 14, 1839, casually remarks that he never will get due credit for achieving Emancipation, ‘for posterity never can believe the species of animals with which I had to carry on my warfare with the common enemy;’ and in the same letter he calls them ‘crawling slaves.’ From such beings it is pleasant to turn to a better specimen of manhood.

To General Bolivar.

Dublin, Ireland: 18th April, 1820.

Illustrious Sir,—A stranger and unknown, I take the liberty of addressing you. I am encouraged to do so by my respect for your high character, and by my attachment to that sacred cause which your talents, valour, and virtue have gloriously sustained—the cause of Liberty and national independence.

Hitherto I have been able to bestow only good wishes upon that noble cause. But now I have a son able to

wield a sword in its defence, and I send him, illustrious Sir, to admire and profit by your example, and, I trust, under your orders and auspices, to contribute his humble but zealous exertions for the success of the arms of the youthful but already renowned Republic of Columbia.

The delusions of paternal affection may well cause me to appreciate beyond their value the services which are now offered to you. But even I may be permitted to say that those services are disinterested and pure, and that they originate in sentiments of which you could not but approve, because they are congenial to those which have actuated your high and mighty soul in all your exertions and sacrifice for the independence of your native land.

To such sentiments of love of liberty are superadded two other powerful motives. The first is, that I feel I owe to the cause of liberty to give you the best proof in my power of the devotion with which your fame and character are admired and cherished in remote regions. The second is, that my son may be enabled to form one link in that kindly chain which will, I hope, long bind in mutual affection the free people of Columbia and the gallant but unhappy natives of Ireland.

Actuated by these views, my son tenders to you his services. Deign to accept them in the spirit in which they are offered. He accompanies to your shores my gallant and honourable friend General D'Evereux, under whom he will always be proud to serve.

That you, illustrious Sir, will imitate the virtues of Washington—may, like him, live to see the enemies of your country confounded and defeated, and to enjoy the heartfelt gratification of beholding your country perfectly free; that in your life you may be honoured and revered like Washington, your great prototype; and that after a long, useful, and glorious career upon earth your fame and your memory may be embalmed in the tears and affections of the wise, the good, and the patriotic of all nations, is the fervent prayer of

Yours most obediently,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Mr. Morgan O'Connell duly served in the South American Army of Independence.

Although anticipating, it may perhaps be added here that on December 20, 1824, O'Connell was arrested for a speech on Bolivar. 'Oppression drives the wise man mad,' he said: 'it has not yet had that effect upon the Irish people; it has never driven them to the extremity of desperate resistance, and Heaven forbid it should; but if such an event come to pass, may another Bolivar and the example of Greece animate their efforts.'

To O'Conor Don.

Merrion Square: 5th May, 1820.

My dear Friend,—I wish it were your convenience to come to town. We are getting up another *struggle*, and we of course want you. Besides, there is the dinner to Alderman McKenny,⁵ for which I have reserved for you the ticket No. 1. There are so few who honestly and with a clear conscience labour for 'the antient Faith' that I feel very lonely when you are not with us. Be so kind as to say whether you expect to be in town.

With great truth, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To Lord Cloncurry.*⁶

(Private.)

Merrion Square: 14th May, 1820.

My dear Lord,—I am *so* delighted that you had an opportunity at the dinner of seeing the manner the people cherish you because you are honest. It really is better to be so than to take part with the enemy. But now you see that you owe us a debt in return; and I call on you to pay it on the double.

In the first place, there is the 'Irish National Society for Education.' I enclose you a prospectus—first, for your

⁵ Alderman, afterwards Sir Thomas, McKenny was the only Lord Mayor of Dublin who, in those days, favoured the Catholics by giving them an opportunity to express a sense of the grievances under which they laboured. It had

been usually understood that the office of chief magistrate conferred dignity on the man, but as O'Connell said, in respect to McKenny, the man conferred dignity on the office.

⁶ From *Personal Recollections of Cloncurry*, published in 1848.

own advice and correction ; and then, when you have made it conform to your sentiments, to entreat that you will lay it before the Duke of Leinster, for his approbation and sanction. I am winding up the Roman Catholic prelates, and making every arrangement to have a public meeting as speedily as possible. We have not an hour to lose, because we should be before Parliament if possible to share the grant. I pray your most speedy attention to this subject. If we can have the Duke as patron, and you as one of the presidents, we shall get on rapidly. . . .

The second thing I would submit to you is our 'Society for Parliamentary Information.' Let us, if you please, begin it. If you will put your name to it, and get me one half-dozen Protestants, I pledge myself to get you a batch of Papists of the first water. If it were once on foot it would accumulate rapidly. . . . Let us not postpone making some efforts for Ireland. We may be calumniated ; but do we not deserve reproach if we tamely crouch beneath our miseries, and leave this '*loveliest land on the face of the earth*' a prey to faction and the victim of unopposed oppression ? Reflect on this, and let us make an attempt to combine good and honest men in an exertion for the country. Believe me to be, with the most sincere respect and regard, my dear Lord,

Your very faithful and obedient Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To Lord Cloncurry.*⁷

Merrion Sqre : 16th Novr. 1820.

My dear Lord,—I want a place, and what is more, I want you to help me to get it ; but it is a place for a Radical, which I am, and ever shall remain.

Will you allow me to ask you whether you deem it wrong to write for me to the Duke of Leinster, to solicit his in-

⁷ It was the pride of Lord Cloncurry, though belonging by birth and station to the aristocracy, to be

found almost at all times in the ranks of the people. Died 1853.

fluence with the Queen⁸ to appoint me her Attorney-General in Ireland? She certainly has a right to such an officer, and I have a right to fill the office if she condescends to appoint me. There is not one shilling of public money attached to it; nor is it in any sense inconsistent with my principles, which are, and ever shall be, favourable decidedly to a complete—say, a radical reform.

I feel I am taking a liberty with you in asking your assistance, but I do hope you know me too well not to believe I would not, for any consideration, ask you to do anything which I was conscious was in any respect inconsistent with your feelings. If I be wrong in my request, pray excuse me, and do not think the worse of me. I know of no event which would afflict me more than to lose any way in your good opinion.

The truth is, that my leading motive in looking for this office is to annoy some of the greatest scoundrels in society, and, of course, the bitterest enemies of Ireland.

I have the honor to be, my Lord, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.⁹

To F. W. Conway, Journalist.

Merrion Sq.: 17th June, 1820.

Sir,—The short report of the proceedings of the Catholics who met at D'Arcy's on Wednesday last, which you gave in your paper, is correct as far as it goes, but it does not contain the *whole* truth. It is, I think, my duty to give

⁸ Caroline of Brunswick. On George IV. ascending the throne in 1820, the Ministry offered her £50,000 a year and the title of Queen of England, if she agreed to reside abroad. This proposal she rejected, and entered London cheered by the people. O'Connell obtained the short-lived office.

⁹ The above letter appears in the *Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry*, but a correspondence passed between O'Connell and Brougham at this time of which Cloncurry knows nothing. Brougham, after

conferring with Denman, writes to ask O'Connell what precedents he could furnish of a Queen Consort appointing an attorney-general; whether these appointments were disputed or admitted by the Courts; did the precedent extend to solicitors-general, and if so, what Protestant barrister would O'Connell recommend for that office in the event of the 'Agitator' holding the other. In reply he urges the claims of Richard Newton Bennett. (See pp. 10, 43.)

some further information on the subject. This duty seems to me imperative, because I think we are on the eve of another struggle, to preserve from all encroachment the discipline of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

I may be much mistaken, but it is my firm and decided belief, that the greatest peril which that Church has in these latter years encountered now awaits her. I may also be laughed at for raising the cry of 'The Church in danger!' but I am quite content to endure any portion of ridicule, provided I am of any utility in rousing the Catholic people of Ireland from the destructive apathy in which they are now sunk.

The gentlemen who have been in the habit of meeting at D'Arcy's, in Essex Street, and many who have *not* been in the habit of meeting there, have on the death of Mr. Grattan resolved to give him a successor. We have, I believe, no kind of authority for doing so, save our wish to avoid the difficulty of another aggregate meeting. A committee was accordingly appointed to consider of, and report a fit person to present our petition to Parliament. These three resolutions were *unanimously* passed:—

'1st. That a delegation should wait on Mr. Plunket¹ respectfully to inquire if he would support the prayer of our petition for relief, unconnected with, and unqualified by, any ecclesiastical restrictions or regulations.

'2nd. That such delegates should report, *in writing*, to the committee the answer of Mr. Plunket.

'3rd. That in case Mr. Plunket should not think fit to give a distinct answer *in the affirmative*, the committee would report the Knight of Kerry as a fit person to present our petition.'

¹ Mr. Plunket, grandfather of the present Lord Archbishop of Dublin, had made some splendid orations—few and famous—in support of Catholic Emancipation and for the relief of Dissenters. However, he seems to have been of opinion that 'conditions and securities were necessary in the event of a Catholic Relief Bill becoming

law': these included the Veto. The securities which O'Connell foresaw were finally embodied in Mr. Plunket's Bill of 1821. Instead of a generous relief bill it might be critically pronounced a bill of pains and penalties. That Bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. (See *Life of Dr. Doyle*, vol. i. pp. 155 *et seq.*)

The delegation was appointed; they had the honour of an interview with Mr. Plunket; they were received by him with great courtesy, and they obtained from him a written reply.

Of that reply I have a copy; it was read repeatedly at the last meeting, but it cannot be published; it is impossible we should publish it, and I deeply and bitterly regret that it is so, because it contains matter, in my humble judgment, of vital importance. But it is impossible to publish it for this reason, that, in answer to a question from one of the delegation on the subject of publishing, Mr. Plunket expressed an opinion that it ought not to be published, and the delegation expressly agreed not to publish it. This is a compact which cannot be violated.

I am therefore constrained from giving any of its contents. But I may say what it does *not* contain—and it certainly does not contain an affirmative reply to the question in the foregoing first resolution, or anything at all like an *affirmative reply* to that question. The duty, consequently, of the committee was at an end; they were bound by their own unanimous resolution to have reported the Knight of Kerry as a person to be applied to in order to present our petition. That was their plain duty under these circumstances—‘*sed Diis aliter visum.*’ Without rescinding the former resolution, a motion was made to report Mr. Plunket; a division took place; there were seven for the motion, seven against it, and it was decided in the affirmative by the casting vote of the chairman, Lord Fingall. Upon this contradictory proceeding some other gentlemen, with me, seceded from the committee, and repaired to the general meeting, where I moved an adjournment until Wednesday next, the 21st inst., which, after a long and most desultory debate, was carried in the affirmative, as already mentioned.

There cannot be a more efficient advocate than Mr. Plunket. I have no difficulty in saying that he is beyond any comparison the most powerful advocate in either country, England or Ireland. The only possible objection to him

can arise from his opinions on the subject of legislating, not for civil rights, but for the religious doctrine or discipline of the Catholic Church in Ireland—no man in existence more fit for the one, and there cannot, in my judgment, be any person more unfit for the other; and the reason why I think him thoroughly unfit to legislate for the religion or discipline of the Catholic Church is one which does him no discredit. It is because he entertains conscientious objections to the allowing our ecclesiastical discipline to remain in its present state. I respect his conscience, but I will preserve my own.

To my judgment, no emancipation can be of any avail but such as shall be satisfactory to all parties. It should not participate in any even if the slightest degree of a victory by the Catholics over the Protestants. On the contrary, it should come as a kind concession from the Protestants, and be received in the spirit of affectionate gratitude by the Catholics. It should, in short, be precisely similar to the relief granted in 1778, to that conceded in 1782, to that bestowed in 1792, and, finally, to that of 1793. In those years there was no mention of any interference with the discipline of the Catholic Church. The Irish Parliament felt that, as Protestants, they were incompetent to form a just notion of the details of our religion, and as legislators, that the best and only security for the state was in our affection and allegiance.

The experience of upwards of forty years has shown that the Irish course of emancipation was as *secure* as it was *beneficent*. Why should it be now departed from?

For the present, I shall only add—that our first duty seems to be to procure emancipation *as Catholics* if we can, and if we cannot, then, *as Catholics*, to remain unemancipated. In either event, to remain *Catholics* in discipline as well as in doctrine.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Plunket's Catholic Relief Bill of 1821, while giving full eligibility, enacted, with the object of allaying hostile fears, first, that no persons shall assume the functions of bishop or dean in the Catholic Church whose loyalty and peaceable conduct shall not have been previously ascertained to the satisfaction of His Majesty; secondly, that all bills and rescripts from Rome should be submitted to a board of commissioners. Sydney Smith sought by most comical argument to prove the harmless character of this inquisition. 'The portmanteau which sets out every quarter for Rome, and returns from it, is a heap of ecclesiastical matters, which have no more to do with the safety of the country than they have to do with the safety of the moon; and which, but for respect to individual feelings, might all be published at Charing Cross. Mrs. Flanagan, intimidated by stomach complaints, wants a dispensation for eating flesh. Cornelius O'Bowell has intermarried by accident with his grandmother, and finding that she is really his grandmother his conscience is uneasy. Three or four schools full of little boys have been cursed for going to hear a Methodist preacher. Bargains for shirts and toe-nails of deceased saints—surplices and trencher-caps blessed by the Pope. These are the fruits of the double allegiance—the objects of our incredible fear and the cause of our incredible folly.'

To the Knight of Kerry.

Cork; 8 Apl. 1821.

My dear Sir,—The information you have hitherto given me respecting *the Bill* has been very satisfactory and correct. It is not your fault if it has passed in its present shape. There are, indeed, some of *our friends* who surprised us a good deal. Young Rice² cannot well escape imputations which I should be truly sorry to countenance. But the Catholic Clergy in Limerick told me early that he would take the precise part he did. The truth is, some people imagine that *we* think as little about our religion as *they* naturally do.

If the Bill passes in its present shape it will tend to

² Afterwards created Lord Montegale.

exasperate and render matters worse in point of popular tranquillity than they are at present. But I strongly suspect that the re-establishment of Legitimacy in Italy will do more to throw out the Bill in the Lords than the eloquence not only of a Master in Chancery³ but of the Chancellor⁴ himself, pathetic as well as poetic although his Lordship be.

I see there is an Assistant Barrister⁵ Bill in agitation for England, leaving the trial by jury. I think the plan promises well, and that with modifications it would be highly useful in Ireland. The present Irish system is productive of the vilest perjury, and does more to demoralise our peasantry than all the details of Law and Religion can be calculated to prevent.

Believe me,

DANIEL O'CONNELL

To his Wife.

Cork : 14th April, 1821.

My sweetest Mary,—I am most sincerely grieved that the pressure of my business here will not allow me to leave this before Monday evening at the soonest. You, sweetest, know how miserable it makes me to be kept away from you, when all my happiness in this world rests in my family. The truth is, I have such an immense pressure, I cannot tear myself away or work through it sooner. I have been obliged to swear that I would return papers before I left this town, and I cannot go away without keeping faith.

I wish with all my heart that the present rascally Catholic Bill was flung out. While I am travelling on Monday morning the rascals will be debating.

Yours, with the tenderest fondness,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

³ Mr. Ellis, a prominent anti-Catholic, is referred to.

⁴ Lord Eldon.

⁵ County Court judges were at first styled assistant barristers.

To Cornelius McLoughlin, Dublin.

Cork : 10th April, 1821.

My dear and excellent Friend,—Get as many honest names to the enclosed as you can for some day next week. I have sent one to Dr. Sheridan ; let us do the best we can. Do not despair, the people are honest. I expect to be in Dublin on Saturday night.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

'We, the undersigned, request a meeting of the Catholics of Ireland on _____, the _____ day of April, to take into consideration the measures necessary to be adopted upon subjects of the most vital importance to the Catholic religion. The place and hour of meeting in this City will be specified in a future advertisement.'

'Dublin : April, 1821.'

On April 2, 1821, 216 members of the House of Commons voted for the third reading of the Catholic Relief Bill ; 197 voted against it. Lord Eldon opposed it in the Lords 'on account of the danger with which it threatened the State.' The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, deprecated the Bill on every ground ; in the first place, it far from gave satisfaction to the Catholics themselves. The Bill was at last thrown out by the Lords.

To O'Conor Don.

Merrion Square : 23rd April, 1821.

My dear Friend,—What is to be done now ? That is the question. Everyone agrees that we should meet. Some are for addressing the King, some for declaring against any further petition, some for proclaiming reform. But I think all agree to meet. It would be desirable to heal the miserable little schism which has arisen amongst ourselves. It can be done only by coming together. Even the Vetoists must admit that *securities* do no good, because we are kicked out as unceremoniously with them as without them.

I send you a copy of the requisition⁶ at the other side, and entreat you to allow me to put your signature to it. I hope, too, it will be your convenience to attend the meeting. I think there is no person who could contribute so much as you to prevent the collision of parties. The fact is you are respected and loved by everybody, and your unaffected kindness of heart and soundness of understanding may, I think, help us out of our present dilemma.

We are cast down by our enemies, and we may make ourselves despicable by either a stupid acquiescence, or by absurd dissension. I care not, however, what quantity of abuse they may fling on myself. I am consoled in my honesty.

To J. D. Mullen.

July 18th, 1821.

My dear Mullen,—I am just told that Sheil⁷ has prepared an address for the aggregate meeting full of the worst politics, rejoicing at the downfall of the spirit of democracy, a kind of ode in prose in favor of the Pitt system. I entreat of you to exert yourself to bring as many honest men as possible to the meeting to enable us to control any political rascality. Perhaps we are in more danger than you imagine.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Earl of Donoughmore.

Mr. O'Connell had the honour of waiting on Lord Donoughmore from several Catholic gentlemen respectfully to solicit his Lordship's kind counsels (which have always been so readily and usefully bestowed) on the subject of the 'out-

⁶ It requested 'a meeting of the Catholics of Ireland at Dublin on Monday, the 7th of May, 1821, to take into consideration the present state of Catholic affairs, and the measures best suited to the wants and wishes of the Catholics of Ireland.'

⁷ Afterwards the Right Hon. R. L. Sheil, then chiefly known as a

tragic dramatist. Conscious of his own power, and anxious to reach Emancipation and its boons by a short cut, he was a Vetoist at this time, and willing to give the Crown securities which, some theologians said, would have the effect of undermining and finally subverting religion.

rage' committed on their feelings by Mr. Alderman Darley having revived the obnoxious and insulting toast at the Mansion House.⁸ The Catholics apprehend much jealousy on the one hand, and great encouragement to dissension on the other, if the Government shall continue in office and leave unpunished a person who has thus a second time violated the good understanding between all parties. At the same time they are unwilling to take, unadvisedly, any such public proceeding as may increase the interruption of harmony. Mr. O'Connell will have the honour to call again at any hour Lord Donoughmore will be so good as to signify.

4 o'clock, Saturday.

A long reply from Lord Donoughmore went on to say:—

In the celebration of the treaty of conciliation between the Corporation of this city and some very respectable persons of the R.C. body, and at which kind mention was made both of the living and of the dead who had the honour of being selected as their parliamentary advocates, though Lord Donoughmore was thrown overboard altogether, or perhaps placed by common consent as the first offering upon the altar, in token of the entire oblivion of all inconvenient recollections on both sides, Mr. O'Connell is quite justified in considering Lord D——'s best counsel and most zealous exertions at all times the property of his R.C. countrymen, whenever occasions shall arise to call for either one or the other for their service.

To Lord Donoughmore.

Merrion Square: 9th Sept. 1821.

My Lord,—I delayed acknowledging the receipt of your letter until I could have the honour of informing you that I had transmitted it to the Earl of Fingall as the proper channel to communicate its contents to the gentlemen who conferred with me on the occasion which induced my visits

⁸ 'The glorious, pious, and immortal memory' of William of Orange. A sort of compact had been entered into, on the occasion

of the King's visit to Ireland at this time, that all past feuds should merge into a cordial spirit of conciliation.

to your Lordship. The advice you, my Lord, were pleased to give, was that which everybody recognises to have been the most suitable to the occasion. Allow me to return your Lordship most respectful thanks not only in my own humble name, but in the name of all the gentlemen who acted with me on that occasion. Indeed, the Catholics must always feel the deepest sense of gratitude towards your Lordship, although they may find it impossible to evince that gratitude in particular circumstances. For myself personally, I am under obligations to your Lordship and your family which no time can weaken, nor can any opportunity ever occur to enable me sufficiently to testify my sense of the favours which I have received. Believe me, my Lord, that no event has taken place to give your Lordship just reason to suspect any portion of the Catholics of neglect, and if I were not unwilling to trespass on your time by going into details I would, I think, satisfy your Lordship on that subject.

*To Frederick William Conway.*⁹

Cork : October 1st, 1821.

Sir,—As my travelling cap¹ seems destined to make part of history, I may be permitted to request that you will be so good as to give the most unequivocal contradiction in my name to the person, whosoever he be, who has accused me of asserting ‘that I got it from the King.’²

I incline strongly to think that no earthly consideration would be sufficient to induce me to say so *in earnest*; and to say so *in jest* would be a dull joke—indeed, dull beyond the proverbial insipidity of bar jesting, where there is ‘*laughter much at little jest.*’

⁹ An influential journalist.

A London paper of the day gave prominence, as ‘From Our Own Correspondent,’ to the following, dated ‘Dublin, September 16, 1821: Counsellor O’Connell is now travelling on circuit, with a fur cap and gold band, which he says is a present from the King, who certainly wore such a cap on his landing in

Ireland.’

² O’Connell had presented a laurel crown to George IV. when leaving Dunleary, now Kingstown, after his conciliatory visit in 1821; and, touching a proposition from Lord Carbery, pledged himself to give twenty guineas annually from his own income to help in building an Irish palace for the King.

I cannot refrain from adding that I am astonished to find that even in London there could exist a newspaper so exquisitely silly as to notice the fur cap. With which I have the honor to be,

Your very obedient,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Cork : 12th Oct. 1821.

My Heart's Darling,—I got your very affectionate letter of Wednesday, and felt the extreme happiness of having so tender a partner of every care and every joy. I could write something like poetry to my own darling if I thought that it would express more strongly what I feel. I see I could easily encourage you to come to Limerick, and I am greatly, greatly tempted to encourage you. But no, I must stay here until Tuesday. I then run off to Darrinane for three or four days, and, indeed, I will make no delay but a very short one in Tralee, just to settle my accounts and be off ; so that if you were to come down we would have little more than the happiness of travelling together. That, to be sure, would be to me exquisite happiness, but then, sweetest, it would be making you run a terrible risk at this season, and if you were but one hour ill I would never, never forgive myself. I cannot tell you *how* my heart languishes to be with you or to express that kind of seethings of the heart which I feel at being so long absent from you, but I will, indeed, hasten to meet you. It is in the meantime impossible to tell you how dearly, how tenderly I doat of you. Lay it to your heart, darling, that there never was a woman so loved.

I enclose you £50 *for the house*. Oh, how happy I should be to *allow* you to meet me on Tuesday in Limerick *if I dared* ; but the shortness of the time, the badness of the weather, and one thousand apprehensions drive it out of my head, in particular the desperate road to Tralee from Limerick. It is in a frightful state. It would be better to come here at once ; but this is all idleness.

The assizes are now quite over, and I spent this day *arbitrating*. To-morrow I will be busy writing one thousand things, but I will, please God, write to my sweet Betsey,³ and you may expect a letter from me every day while I am here. I had a *great* and *glorious* assizes. I believe I am at the top of the wheel, for which I thank God. I must conclude, darling, with wishing you and my children *every* blessing, and assuring you of the fondest love

Of your ever true

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I had great fun at the county meeting. You never saw or heard of anything that took better than my hit at Mahon in reply to his attack on my cap. I concluded by saying 'I would call my cap the cap of unanimity, but then the cap would not fit Mr. Mahon.'

To his Wife.

Tralee: 30th Oct. 1821.

My own Love,—I do not, darling, deserve your lecture, and I love you with a tenderness which nothing can ever abate, and which I check myself from expressing because, if I were to indulge in the expression of it, the terms are *too fond* which I should use, and yet they could not convey the idea of the excess with which I love you.

Darling, your son and I arrived here yesterday from Carhen. We had a delightful day of it riding to Killorglin; then we were jumbled in a carriage over the worst of all possible bad roads. Your son was excessively tired, as he had been dancing the night before at Primrose's⁴ until two in the morning in great spirits, but to a most miserable piper. He every day endears himself more and more to his father, of which, I suppose, you are a good deal surprised.

I am extremely hurried here, as you may imagine, and am now on the point of going into the Connor's affairs. I

³ His youngest daughter, still alive. She married N. J. Ffrench, Esq., of Fortwilliam, county Ros-

common.

⁴ Mr. John Primrose married the niece of Mrs. O'Connell.

wish they were over, that I may be off for my sweetest darling love and her darling girls and boys. Tell my sweetest Daney⁵ that he is the greatest of all possible doats, and that his father will give him leave to be as bold as he chooses for a full week after his return to Dublin. I wish I had time to write to my dear John. Tell him that I do not love him the less for not writing to him.

To his Wife.

Ennis: 12th March, 1822.

My darling Love,—I wrote two letters to you yesterday. Serjeant Lefroy arrived here about one o'clock this day and tried one record. To-morrow a great case of a Priest, a friend of mine, comes on for defamation. And the next day another great cause, after which I will, please God, go to Tipperary on my way to Wexford. I mean to be back in Limerick early on Monday morning, before the jury can be sworn. I should be very grateful to Providence, which has given me so strong a constitution as to enable me to resist *all* fatigue. Blessed be His holy name!

Your alarms about the county of Limerick are greatly exaggerated—the people attack only their enemies. Besides, darling, I travelled at hours in which they never attack anybody. And the military force is immense. You need, in truth, be under no kind of uneasiness for me.

It is not surprising that O'Connell should have been idolised by his family and highly regarded by friends when we read what W. H. Curran, an Irish Protestant, says of him about this time. After describing his tall expanded frame, such as befits a man of the people, Curran adds: 'In his face he has been equally fortunate; it is extremely comely. The features are at once soft and manly: the florid glow of health and a sanguine temperament are diffused over the whole countenance, which is national in the outline, and beaming with national emotion. The expression is open and confiding, and inviting confidence; there is not a trace of malignity or wile—if there were, the

⁵ Then aged six years.

bright and sweet blue eyes, the most kindly and honest-looking that can be conceived, would repel the imputation.' Dr. R. R. Madden once described W. H. Curran as 'a man who would freeze you.' The impression which O'Connell left on this keen student of character is, therefore, to be prized.

CHAPTER III.

Lord Norbury and Mr. Saurin—A Discovery—Weak and Vacillating Policy of Lord Wellesley—The Viceroy's Path strewn with Insults—Matin Devotions—Catholic Emancipation offered—Relief Bill prepared—Deputation to London—Full Details in O'Connell's Letters to his Wife—His Parliamentary Examination—Lionised and feasted—The Great Men he met—Attends the Levee—The Catholics duped—The Cup dashed from their Lips—Bill to suppress the Catholic Association—O'Connell refuses Reimbursement for Time and Toil—The Catholic Rent—Dr. Doyle's Coolness with O'Connell—'The Wings'—The Duke of York—Ribbonism active.

ONE evening the well-known Chief Justice Lord Norbury thrust under the seat of his arm-chair a letter which had reached him when enjoying by the fireside well-earned rest after a day of toil. The chair was subsequently sent to an upholsterer for repair, and the letter came to light. The writer was the Orange Attorney-General Saurin, who urged the Chief Justice to exert the influence of his official position, whilst going on circuit as judge, to personally mingle in political conversations with the Grand Jury, in order to check the progress of the Catholic question. It had often been suspected, but this letter now proved that poison had been poured into the very fountains of Justice.¹ It found its way to O'Connell, who was shocked at the contents.

¹ The following is the letter in question :—

'Dublin : August 9.

'Dear Lord Norbury,—I transcribe for you a very sensible part of Lord Rosse's letter to me :—

'“As Lord Norbury goes our Circuit, and as he is perfectly acquainted with the Gentlemen of our country, a hint to him may be of use. He is in the habit of talking individually to them in his Chamber at Philipstown; and if he were to

impress upon them the consequence of the measure, viz.—that however they may think otherwise, the Catholics would, in spite of them, elect Catholic Members, and then have the nomination of the Sheriffs, and, in many instances perhaps of the Judges; and that the Protestants would be put in the background as the Catholics were formerly, I think he would bring the effect of the measure home to themselves, and satisfy them that they could scarcely

*To N. P. O'Gorman, Secretary to the Catholics
of Ireland.*

Merrion Square : 22 June, 1822.

My dear O'Gorman,—I beg leave to deposit the enclosed letter with you as a document of great importance to the Catholics of Ireland. I deposit it with you in your capacity of Secretary to the Catholics and for public purposes, and I request you, as such secretary, to call a meeting of such noblemen and gentlemen as take a part in managing our affairs, to consider the propriety of either petitioning Parliament or instituting a prosecution on the subject of this letter, and of the conspiracy which it proves to convert the judicial office into an engine of calumny and bigotry.

Very faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

P.S.—Acknowledge the receipt of this. I think the meeting should be private.

To the Right Hon. W. C. Plunket, M.P., Attorney-General.

Merrion Square : 1st July, 1822.

My dear Sir,—I had the honor to receive your letter of the 25th of June, and am sincerely sorry to see that you think the plain evidence of a foul and most dangerous crime—the perversion of the administration of Justice to political purposes—should be sacrificed to some notion of etiquette. I am indeed very sorry for it.

I hope and trust that, if any Catholic had been guilty of an attempt to corrupt a judge and to pervert the administra-

submit to live in the country if it were passed."

'So far Lord Rosse ; but what he suggests in another part of his letter :—

"That if Protestant Gentlemen who have votes, and influence, and interest, would give these venal Members to understand that if they will purchase Catholic votes by betraying their Country and its Con-

stitution, they shall infallibly lose theirs, it would alter their conduct, though it could neither make them honest nor respectable."

"If you will judiciously administer a little of this medicine to the King's County or any other Members of Parliament that may fall in your way, you will deserve well.

'Affectionately and truly yours,
'WM. SAURIN.'

tion of so sacred a thing as public justice to any purpose injurious to the State, or even to the meanest Protestant in that state, such Catholics would be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law. In the case of a Catholic so offending I should be desirous that the usual modes of obtaining evidence of secret conspiracies, namely, the giving rewards to any associate who would betray and prove guilt, would be resorted to. Such crimes require and justify the hiring, at wages, of that kind of treachery which all honest men abhor, but must make use of, otherwise secret conspiracies would go unpunished. In the case of an offending Catholic I should hope that his crime would be thus sifted, detected, and punished. I am not so foolish or so uncandid as to assert that the case of a Protestant who conspires to injure the Catholics can in the present temper of Society in these countries, and under the present system, with at least one half the administration in both decided enemies of Catholic rights and liberties—I am not, I say, so foolish and uncandid as to assert that under such a system the crimes of Catholics and Protestants against each other should be weighed in the same scales of gold; neither theory nor practice warrant me to say so. But yet this is so plain, so distinct, so enormous an offence; the evidence of it has been procured in so guiltless a way—no reward, no price has or can by any remotest possibility be now or hereafter paid for it; it is handed to us by that kind of chance which is sometimes absurdly, and at other times perhaps piously, called ‘providential;’ it furnishes so strong, so striking a feature in the causes of Irish misery that I cannot bring myself to believe but that on reflection you will see the necessity, or at least the propriety, of not allowing these offenders to escape.

Under those circumstances I feel it to be my duty again, and in the most respectful manner possible, to tender you the copy of this letter and to offer you the proof of the original, and also of the manner in which it has been procured.

I am happy that, as this letter is addressed to you merely

as a public man on a public subject, it does not require from you any reply. The contents are dictated by perhaps a mistaken, but certainly a strong as well as painful sense of public duty. I wish the manner of performing that duty could sufficiently express the unfeigned respect with which I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell then appealed to Brougham, who did not hesitate to animadvert in Parliament on Saurin's letter, especially as it was connected with the return of members to the House. Peel replied that he would rather be the writer than he who, having found the letter, made so base a use of it. Both Saurin and Norbury were then alive. The point has no force now.

In 1821 Lord Wellesley became Viceroy—the first Irishman who for centuries had filled that post. Having advocated the Catholic claims, his appointment was a popular one, and some said that Lord Liverpool designed it to divert O'Connell from his proposed alliance with the English Radicals. Orangeism had long held high festival in the land, and strong party-toasts were constantly given at its feasts. This practice Lord Wellesley mildly deprecated, but the intimation was not well taken, and hopes were cherished that his tenure of office might soon end. At a dinner of the Beefsteak Club (an Orange Body) the chairman slyly proposed 'The exports of Ireland!' Among those present were three Castle officials, whom Lord Wellesley next day dismissed; but in cooler moments he magnanimously announced his intention of himself dining with the offending Club. He was most gracious. The entire company rose when he moved to retire, and he passed out bowing through files of Orangemen. But he had scarcely reached the door when 'The exports of Ireland!' was given and received with a roar of vivacious acclamation, and the Viceroy descended the stairs, stung by an insult which was destined later on to widen.² His policy towards the Orangemen continued weak and vacillating. Alderman Kingston James, an aggressive Corporator, was made a Baronet. Patronage, instead of

² Great license of language disfigured these reunions. Lord Monck, or, as he was familiarly called, 'Moncks,' gave, as chairman: 'The pope in the pillory of Hell and the

devil pelting priests at him.' 'Suppose you substitute *monks* for priests,' said Sir P. Bellew, who chanced to be present as a guest.

being equally distributed, flowed in the old channels. The celebration of 'July the Twelfth'—the date of the defeat of James—had long been a time-honoured observance in Dublin. The statue of William in College Green—dressed with symbolic trappings and painted in orange and blue—became a scene of theatric triumph, followed often by midnight disorder and outrage. O'Connell felt—rightly or wrongly—that he had been cajoled by Lord Wellesley,³ who blandly asked the Agitator's aid in his efforts to tranquillise Ireland. The oil of flattery temporarily calmed the troubled sea of our Tribune's thoughts; but the effect had now passed away, and the following letter affords sufficient record of the change.

To the Marquis Wellesley, &c. &c. &c.

Merrion Square: July 11th, 1822.

My Lord,—To-morrow will finally decide the character of your administration. The oppressed and neglected Catholics of Ireland had fondly hoped that they might have obtained from a *friend* placed in the exalted situation which your Excellency occupies, a recommendation in favour of their claims. You *took* an early opportunity to crush that hope for ever. In your reply to the Address of the Catholics of the county of Clare, you told the Irish people that you came here to '*administer the laws, not to alter them.*'

My Lord, but a few weeks elapsed, when you deemed it expedient to recommend the Insurrection Act, and the Act to suspend the Habeas Corpus. That the latter was not wanting, is now admitted by everybody; and that any necessity is a justification of the former, remains, in my humble judgment, to be proved. But let these pass.

It still remains for your Excellency *to administer the laws*. Hitherto the Catholics have felt no advantages from your Excellency's administration. The system by which we are governed, the cold system of exclusion and distrust,

³ Times have changed. The *Freeman's Journal* of June 13, 1888, publishes a letter complaining that the Corporation of Dublin has re-

fused to keep in repair the Statue of King William or to permit its removal.

is precisely the same with that of the most rigid of your predecessors. One principal actor,⁴ to be sure, has been withdrawn from the scene, and we may deem the alteration a compliment; but I am yet to learn what benefit we are to derive from it; and I appeal to your Lordship, whether the change to which I allude has not been amply compensated for, to the exclusionists, by the removal of the mildest, kindest, and best public man Ireland has yet ever seen, Mr. Grant.⁵

Your Excellency came to *administer the laws*. My Lord, I most respectfully, but at the same time most firmly, call upon you to *administer them*. The exhibition intended (it is said) for to-morrow, is plainly a violation of the law. *It is an open and public excitement to a breach of the peace—it is a direct provocation to tumult—it obstructs the public street, by collecting on the one side an insulting, and on the other an irritated, concourse of persons*. It is, my Lord, for these, and other obvious reasons, a manifest violation of the law.

I pledge myself to prove, before any Court, or to any impartial Jury, that the usual annual exhibition on the 12th of July is illegal; I make this pledge under no small risk; I have certainly as large, probably a larger professional income than any man in a stuff gown ever had at the Irish Bar; an income depending mainly upon the public notion that I understand something of my profession. I could not afford to forfeit *that* public confidence, and yet I freely consent to forfeit it all, unless I am able to demonstrate to any judicial tribunal *that the annual exhibitions of the 12th of July are illegal*.

Having given this pledge, I again respectfully call upon your Excellency to vindicate the exalted character you have

⁴ Bushe is one of the first men produced by our country. When I went to Ireland in 1821, I found him depressed by an old Orangeman named Saurin, then Attorney-General by title, but who had been really Lord-Lieutenant for fifteen years. I removed Saurin and appointed Bushe Lord Chief Justice.—Lord

Wellesley to Lady Blessington (*Memoirs and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington*, by R. R. Madden, vol. iii. p. 4).

⁵ The Right Hon. Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg, Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1818 to 1821, when he was replaced by Mr. Goulburn.

heretofore acquired, to do justice to the high name you bear, and to fulfil the duties of the exalted station which you occupy. As you cannot *alter*, I again respectfully, dutifully, but firmly, call upon you to *administer the law*, and to suppress an illegal and insulting nuisance.

My Lord, you do not, cannot want the means of suppressing this nuisance; one word from you will be abundantly sufficient to do it. The expensive Police of Dublin is at your disposal, with one word you can remove every one of them, from the Chief Magistrate in the Chief Office to the lowest retainer in the patrol department. The Corporation has, to be sure, the power to nominate to many of those situations, but that influence which, alas! is deemed necessary over higher assemblies is preserved in perfect purity over the Corporation by your Excellency's undoubted right to dismiss the nominees of the Corporation, at your pleasure, from those lucrative situations in the Police.

You do not, my Lord, want the power to administer the law. To say nothing of the military force at your disposal, you can command, and it is within the limits (and would it were within the practice) of our Constitution, to command them, all the liberal Protestants, constituting a most numerous and respectable body, and the entire Catholic population of Dublin, as Special Constables, to keep the peace, and prevent a violation of the law. You have, my Lord, ample power, and God forbid it should ever be said that you wanted the inclination, to administer the laws *impartially* towards all classes of his Majesty's subjects.

I say nothing of his most gracious Majesty's parting admonition—I say nothing of the disinterested and affectionate loyalty which the Catholics shewed to their Sovereign, on his visit to Ireland; and I scorn to boast of the active part so humble an individual as myself took upon that important occasion. My Lord, the Catholics forgot injuries and, what is infinitely more difficult, forgave insults, to effect a reconciliation with their Protestant fellow-subjects; and in no one instance have the Catholics, since the King's

visit, violated, *in deed or even in word*, the spirit of that amicable concord which they then sought, and believed they had attained. I now defy the most active of our calumniators to point out any one single act, or even any one single word, by which the Catholics have violated that concord. But, alas! how speedily, how completely, how entirely has it been violated upon the other side! On the other side, those men who were loudest in proclaiming *sentiments* of amity, what has been their conduct since? But I will not dwell upon this painful subject; I will only say, that the Catholics deserve and require protection from insult and injury. Will you, my Lord, refuse them that protection?

To-morrow decides the character of your Excellency's Administration in Ireland. That your conduct then, and always, may at length justify the wishes of your admirers, and the fallen expectations of this fallen country, is the anxious desire of,

My Lord, your Excellency's most obedient,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

This letter had due effect, and Lord Wellesley sought to prevent the annual celebration. Orangeland was in ferment. During a State visit to the theatre, a series of oral insults was followed up by the discharge of missiles into the Viceregal box. This hostility was not diminished by his marriage in 1825 with a Roman Catholic lady, named Patterson,⁶ sister-in-law of Jerome Buonaparte, and the granddaughter of Carroll, the last surviving signatory of the American Declaration of Independence. Lord Wellesley continued his efforts to exorcise the demon of bigotry, but not always with success, as the following hoax from the *Mail*⁷ of that day serves to show. It is a travesty of the

⁶ Dr. Shelton MacKenzie, in his *Life of Scott*, mentions a curious fact, if fact it is. Mr. Patterson, better known as 'Old Mortality,' who loved to repair the tombstones of the Presbyterian martyrs, had a son named John. This man emigrated to America when Washington was at school, and settled in Baltimore, where he amassed wealth by trade. He had two daughters one

of whom married Lord Wellesley the other Jerome Buonaparte, afterwards king of Westphalia.

⁷ 'Saurin set up a newspaper to defame me, the *Mail*, which (notwithstanding the support of Lord Manners and the Orangemen) has not yet ruined or slain me.'—Lord Wellesley to Lady Blessington. (*Memoirs*, by R. R. Madden, iii. pp. 4-5.)

mode in which announcements of Viceregal drawing-rooms were usually made :—

✕ ' Private Chaplain's Office, Phoenix Park : Feb. 17, 1826.

' There will be a " Rosary " at the [Viceregal] Lodge on the evening of Monday, the 20th inst. ' The ladies and gentlemen who attend are requested to bring their own beads, much confusion having arisen in consequence of their neglecting to bring these necessary articles on former occasions.'

Mr. ' Remigius Sheehan ' edited this staunch anti-Catholic organ ; and it is remarkable that his brother became a distinguished Catholic priest—the late Right Rev. Monsignor Sheehan, of Cork.

The hopes of the Catholics hung as wet osiers—to quote Sheil's words—when in 1823 O'Connell established that subsequently powerful confederacy the Catholic Association. He toiled hard in organising its ranks and securing influential co-operation.

As may be gathered from a previous letter, and others printed in the journals of the day, Lord Donoughmore, though a warm friend to Catholic Emancipation, was peevish and jealous. O'Connell constantly sought to keep this peer in good humour.

To Lord Donoughmore.

Merrion Square : 10 June, 1823.

My Lord,—I feel so much respect and gratitude towards your Lordship for your personal kindness to myself, and the unwearied zeal with which you have always advocated the cause of the Catholics of Ireland, upon its true principles, that (however unnecessary in itself) I cannot avoid making a short comment to your Lordship on a recent occurrence amongst us. I mean, the giving a partial Catholic petition to Earl Grey instead of respectfully entreating of your Lordship to present it for us. The persons who act with me amongst the Catholics are, believe me, deeply penetrated with the same sentiments towards your Lordship that I am. And however a few individuals may think, that in transferring the petition from Mr. Plunket to Mr. Brougham in the Commons I intended any disrespect to the former, they

are greatly mistaken, although upon that mistake may be founded the selection of Earl Grey in the House of Lords. I have only to add that the Catholics of Ireland, for whom your Lordship has been pleased to accept the management of their general petition, are filled with sentiments of the most perfect conviction of the debt of gratitude they owe you, and of the inestimable value of your services in our cause. For my humble self, I have so many additional motives to be devoted to your family, that I should blush to belong to any body which could forget for one moment how deeply indebted we are to your Lordship. There is no danger of any such forgetfulness. And I now write only to show how jealous we should be of anything which could have the appearance of such danger.—I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The *New Monthly Magazine* was edited at this time by Thomas Campbell, and contained a remarkable series of Bar sketches, of which the best was that of O'Connell. The writer said that if any visitor to Dublin should chance, in returning from a ball between 5 and 6 A.M. of a winter's morning, to pass through Merrion Square he might observe that, among those splendid mansions, there was one tenanted by a person whose habits widely differed from those of his fashionable neighbours. 'The half-opened parlour shutter and the light within announce that some one dwells there whose time is too precious to permit him to regulate his rising with the sun's. Should your curiosity tempt you to ascend the steps and, under cover of the dark, to reconnoitre the interior, you will see a tall able-bodied man standing at a desk, and immersed in solitary occupation. Upon the wall in front of him there hangs a crucifix. From this, and from the calm attitude of the person within, and from a certain monastic rotundity about his neck and shoulders, your first impression will be that he must be some pious dignitary of the Church of Rome absorbed in his matin devotions. But this conjecture will be dismissed almost as soon as formed. No sooner can the eye take in the other furniture of the apartment—the bookcases stocked with tomes in plain calf-skin binding, and blue-covered octavos strewing the tables and the floor, the reams of manu-

script in oblong folds and begirt with crimson tape—than it becomes evident that the party meditating amidst such objects must be thinking far more of the law than the prophets.'

The man who peeped goes home blessing his stars that he is not a lawyer, and compassionating the sedentary drudge whom he had just detected at his cheerless toil. But should he happen that day to visit the Four Courts he would be surprised to find the severe recluse of the morning transformed into one of the most bustling and important personages of that busy scene. We hear that when the Judges rise at three, O'Connell will have gone through a quantity of business, the preparation for and performance of which would suffice to wear down an ordinary constitution, and one naturally supposes that the rest of the day must necessarily be given to recreation or repose. 'But here again you will be mistaken; for should you, as you return from the Courts, drop into any of the public meetings that are almost daily held in Dublin, you will find the Counsellor there before you, the presiding spirit of the scene, riding in the whirlwind, and directing the storm of popular debate with a strength of lungs and a redundancy of animation as if he had that moment started fresh for the labours of the day. There he remains until, by dint of strength or dexterity, he has carried every point; and from thence, if you would see him to the close of the day's eventful history, you may have to follow him to a public dinner, from which, after having acted a conspicuous part and thrown off half-a-dozen speeches in praise of Ireland, he retires at a late hour to repair the wear and tear by a short interval of repose, and is sure to be found before dawn next morning at his post recommencing the routine of his restless life.'

Mr. Curran, in his sketch of O'Connell's ubiquitous efficiency, says nothing of his great activity on circuit. The following letters furnish some details on this head.

To Lord Donoughmore.

2nd July, 1823.

My Lord,—I beg leave respectfully to solicit your Lordship's attention to the bills before the House of Lords relative to the profession of attornies in Ireland. The reason why I make this request is because I am convinced

by experience that bill is calculated to do much mischief to the public. Having no other motives, I venture to hope that my testimony will add to the impression which I perceive, by the public papers, has already been made on your Lordship's mind on this subject. I cannot avoid availing myself of this opportunity of returning you my most sincere thanks for your attentions.—I have the honor, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Tralee: 15th August, 1824.

My darling Love,—It is an age since I heard from you. I got to Waterford on Tuesday and was dragged by the people from the new bridge to my lodgings, about half a mile, along the finest quay imaginable. The next day the record came on—my client was defeated, but *ought not*. The Chief Justice⁸ was astounded at the verdict, but it was occasioned altogether by the Orange feeling which prevents Catholics from getting justice. My client was a Catholic, and not a single Catholic was left on the jury. I never was more disgusted by the vileness of the bigotry which crushes the Catholics in every step and situation in life. I got a great dinner on Wednesday. The company was respectable and very numerous. I did not get to bed till near two in the morning. I was up again at, or rather before, six, and travelled that day, *Thursday*, to Killarney, 104 miles, but I was not there until near *three* in the morning. I was obliged to be up again at six, and came here on Friday morning before the Court sat. Butler's fishery case was postponed for me, and we succeeded in it gallantly. Butler is very grateful—and so, darling, he ought. I went through a good deal of fatigue, but I never was better in health or spirits—boasting of you and my girls and my boys, not forgetting *my miscreant*. Darling, give them all my tenderest love, and tell yourself, if you can, *how* I love you, my own own Mary. I go this day to James's⁹ to dine and sleep, having taken my place for Cork to-morrow.

⁸ Charles Kendal Bushe.

⁹ His brother, afterwards created a baronet.

I thus get to Cork a full day before the assizes commence. They will certainly last a full fortnight. I then, dearest, take my trip to Iveragh. You can *afford* to let me go to Iveragh this year. I trust, sweetest, this winter will agree with you and my own own girls. They little know how their father raves of them. It is that, darling, literally.

Spring Rice has been here on the grand jury. He would have had a public compliment paid to him if I had not interfered. I am quite dissatisfied with him and his politics.

Darling, I will, please God, write to you *regularly* from Cork and will expect frequent letters from you.

Yours, with the utmost tenderness and truth,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

[See letter of January 11th, 1825, in Appendix.]

Dr. Lardner essayed to show the utter delusiveness of steam locomotion, and while the future Earl of Derby opposed the Manchester and Liverpool line which traversed the Knowsley estates, and denounced railways as 'a mad and extravagant speculation,' O'Connell saw the great importance of the change. In 1834 the first Irish railway was opened between Dublin and Kingstown, and there is now before me a silver cup, bearing date 'Aug. 6, 1833,' and 'presented to T. M. Gresham, Esq., by the inhabitants of Kingstown to mark their sense of his spirited efforts in opposing the Kingstown Railway.'¹ O'Connell, long in advance of such men, foresaw the success of steam, and put his muscular shoulder to the wheel.

*To the Knight of Kerry.*²

Merrion Square: 28th Jan. 1825.

My dear Knight,—We are determined to have railways as well as our neighbors, and the utility of them seems to me so obvious that I have consented to be a director of

¹ This railway proved a great boon, and, in point of fact, 'made Kingstown.'

² By documents now before me, the Knight of Kerry appears to be in O'Connell's debt £194. As O'Connell wished to take up nineteen shares he asked him to make

a deposit of ten per cent. on that number. 'I will put all my shoulders to this undertaking,' writes O'Connell. 'Within a week I will be able to enter into the subject of this company with more attention to its details. I feel the greatest anxiety for its success.'

the *Northern* line. I think this line free of all objection, because it does not interfere with the property already *sunk* in the canals. Whatever be the policy of protecting the canals, it is preferable, at least in point of good feeling, not to interfere with them.

This will be handed to you by my particular friend Mr Roose, who goes to London on this business. I beg to recommend him to you in the strongest terms. I have ventured to promise him your kind assistance. I am almost ashamed to tell you how *much* I have told him you would do for him. Of course I would not ask you to do anything but what your own judgment perfectly approved. But there are a thousand helps thro' the House which, if you have leisure to give him some of, will certainly be conferring a most particular and personal favor on me.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In 1825 a Bill to suppress the Catholic Association was brought forward by Mr. Goulburn; and O'Connell and Sheil attended at the Bar of the House to pray that they might be heard as counsel for the body in whose proceedings they had taken so active a part. The debates which followed threw forth a new light. A pleasant glimpse of the land of promise was obtained, and men—long tempest-tossed—stood, as they thought, within measurable distance of its shore. Negotiations were opened, in which O'Connell was treated with great perfidy. Emancipation was promised, provided it be accompanied by the 'Wings.' By these clauses the Forty Shilling Freeholders were to be disfranchised, and the Catholic clergy pensioned. Plunket was deceived in the first instance, and became the means of deceiving the deputation of Catholics who had come as political missionaries to London. The question remained in abeyance for nearly five years after, but such was the vigour and determination of O'Connell, that he at last wrung Emancipation from a hostile Premier, who gave it not, as he said, in justice to the claim, but because it had become downright irresistible. Throughout the period of anxiety and hope which the mission to London in 1825 embraced, O'Connell's correspondence is specially full.

To his Wife.

Shrewsbury: 16th February, 1825.

My darling Heart's Love,—We had rather a rough passage to Holyhead. We slept at Bangor. Started this morning at five, and arrived here before seven this evening. We had eight in and on the Landau. Our party consists of Sir Thomas Esmonde, Hugh O'Connor, Mr. McDonnell—a young gentleman of fortune from Sligo or Mayo—Mr. Shiel, Mr. Kirwan—the gentleman who speaks at the *asso-she-ation*—Fitzsimon, and myself, with my servant James. The weather is very pleasant. Darling, you have thus a journal of our proceedings hitherto. To-morrow we will get nearly to London, and reach it early on Friday. I will write to you again that day. We have *at present* no account of the division against us, but the numbers who support us *will* be small. We have read Monday's debate, and if you get Sir Jas. MacIntosh's speech with the Latin quotation at length, get Maurice to translate it for you, as there is a compliment in it for a certain little cocknosed woman of my acquaintance, whom, after all, I most sincerely love. Our neighbour North³ made a virulent speech against us, so did that long blockhead Dogherty.⁴ Nothing could be more indecent than Brownlow,⁵ Dawson,⁶ and the rest of the gang. We have little to expect from such a crew of miscreants. However, it is not in their power to injure us much. We intend to have a recess in London, and to make speeches *at* those who speak against us in Parliament. We will, I think, make a sensation, and I hope in God do some good. Of course you know that I risk nothing in point of personal encounter. I say this to dissipate any appre-

³ Henry North died in 1831, soon after his appointment as Admiralty judge. W. H. Curran supplies a clever picture of him in his *Sketches of the Irish Bar*, i. 208.

⁴ Curran describes Doherty, afterwards Chief Justice, as 'six feet two inches high, and every inch a very estimable person.' (See *Sketches &c.*, vol. ii. pp. 1-26.)

⁵ Afterwards Lord Lurgan. Some weeks later he handsomely acknowledged, in a remarkable speech in Parliament, that the evidence delivered by Dr. Doyle and O'Connell had completely converted him. (See Bishop Doyle's *Life*, i. 409.)

⁶ G. R. Dawson, the brother-in-law of Peel.

hension which you in former times would entertain ; and as to any prosecution, there is not in England the least possible danger of that. It is not possible at present to say how long we shall be detained in London. It *will* be as short as I can make it, without injuring or deserting the business which has at present torn me from you, my own sweetest, dearest darling. It is a sacrifice—certainly a great sacrifice—and you must not be angry if I meet nothing but ingratitude in return. No man should ever expect gratitude from the public. I wish to God I could make my motives so pure and disinterested as to care little for gratitude or applause. Write to me, sweetest—you whom I do care for—write to me every day, and get my girls and my son *also* to write to me. Beg of Maurice to attend to Catholic affairs—to get forward as many petitions as possible, and from as many counties. Let him announce every day at the committee of the Association that he must make to me a daily return of the number of petitions. Let a book be got, and in it the names inserted of five or six to manage the petitions of each county ; and let those persons be called on every day to make a report of what they have done to send forward petitions. If there be zeal enough in petitioning, we shall yet be safe. At all events, our motto is, ‘God and our native Land.’ Darling, embrace *my* children for me, and believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O’CONNELL.

The Irish political missionaries, as they wended their way through England, attracted much attention, especially in the smaller towns. We learn from contemporary accounts that O’Connell mainly arrested the public gaze. He sat on the box of a landau with a large cloak—seemingly a revival of the ancient Irish mantle—folded around him. His massive figure wrapped in this drapery, and his fine open beaming face, made him a very conspicuous object. The deputation arrived in Wolverhampton about 8 A.M. with appetites ill befitting the season of Lent, during which they were constrained to travel. ‘The table was strewn with a tantalising profusion of the choicest fare,’ proceeds the graphic pen of Sheil. ‘Every eye was fixed

on an unhallowed round of beef, which seemed to have been placed on the breakfast table to lead us into temptation. But Mr. O'Connell exclaimed, "Recollect that you are in sacred precincts: the terror of the Vetoists"—meaning Bishop Milner—"has made Wolverhampton holy!" The admonition saved us. We thought we beheld his pastoral staff upraised between us and the forbidden feast, and turned slowly from its unavailing contemplation to the Lenten fare of dry toast and creamless tea.'

To Mrs. O'Connell.

London: 18th February, 1825.

My darling Love,—This day we arrived here at half after one. On our arrival we dressed and proceeded to Sir Francis Burdett, with whom we had a long conference. He is an elegant gentleman, but there is an English coldness about him. I have since had half an hour's conference with Mr. Denman.⁷ I like him much. We then went to the House of Commons, *into which* and under the gallery Kit⁸ Hutchinson conducted us with the permission of the Speaker. I saw him, the Speaker, measure me with his glass. Many of the members shook hands with me, amongst the rest Tom Ellis.⁹ After sitting a short time we have come out to dinner. There is a smart debate expected on presenting several petitions this evening. My opinion of *the honourable house* is greatly lessened by being in it. I do not suppose we shall be heard as counsel. It is said that if we are heard it will principally be from a motive of curiosity. The fact is, they are always careless about Ireland till they want us. I wish the time were come when they wanted us, the scoundrels! We had a pleasant journey enough. The weather was good and the travelling pleasant enough. We kept ourselves as merry as we could. Alderman Wood¹ got himself

⁷ Afterwards Lord Denman, who in 1844 denounced the packing of the jury which convicted O'Connell.

⁸ M.P. for Cork, and the brother of Lord Donoughmore.

⁹ Master Ellis, a leading Tory.

¹ Afterwards Sir Mathew Wood, Bart., famous for the zeal with which

he attached himself to the fate and fortunes of Queen Caroline. During his second tenure of office as Lord Mayor of London, he earned popularity by saving the lives of three poor Irishmen who had been sentenced to be hanged on the false testimony of three police officers. Died 1843.

introduced to me; he has the air of an honest man, cordial and frank. Give my warmest love, darling, to our children. Write to me a great deal about them . . . I hate being absent from my sweetest love.

Believe me, darling Heart,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Cooke's Hotel, Albemarle Street: 21st February, 1825.

My darling Heart,—You are before this apprized that we are not to be heard at the bar of the house. We were in the house under the gallery during the debate of Friday. It was dull and prosy enough in all conscience. Peel was civil but very malignant to the Catholics. He made a powerful use of the letter to Hamilton Rowan,² but certainly we enabled Brougham to have much the better of it in his reply. It was an able speech, but to tell you, darling, the honest truth, *you* would prefer certain orators, one of whom shall be nameless, to the talkers of the great house. The Solicitor-General is a blockhead.³ Mr. Attorney-General

² Archibald Hamilton Rowan, an Ulster Protestant of large property, became a member of the 'Society of United Irishmen' at a time when its objects were professedly confined to Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation. The Government having threatened to suppress the Irish volunteers, he attended a meeting of that force to protest against the coming *coup*, and issued an address beginning: 'Citizen soldiers, to arms!' Rowan was put on his trial, fined £500, and sentenced to be imprisoned for two years. By bribing his jailer he escaped to Rush, a village on the Dublin coast, and thence reached France in an open boat. The proclamation offering £1,000 for his apprehension was thrown into it; but a man named Sheridan, who acted as pilot, exclaimed: 'Never mind, by —— we will land you safe.' In 1802 Rowan was permitted to return to Ireland, and when Shelley visited Dublin in 1812, and attended one of

O'Connell's Catholic meetings, he addressed some letters to Rowan urging him to assist in the regeneration of Ireland. Rowan failed to respond; but in 1823 he joined the Catholic Association, and an address was presented to him, a fact which Peel trenchantly noticed in 1825, as connecting its proceedings with 'an attainted traitor.' Rowan journeyed to London in order to challenge Peel, but happily no blood was spilt. Died 1834.

³ For some years Sir Charles Wetherell was the cause of much laughter, and, as may be supposed, never attained any higher judicial eminence than that of Recorder of Bristol, where he narrowly escaped with his life. Finding Wellington not indisposed to grant Catholic Emancipation, he resigned the Solicitor-Generalship, resolved, as he said, to have no connection with the Scarlet Lady whose seat is on the Seven Hills.

*no great things.*⁴ Mr. Wynne, who belongs to the cabinet, is just one of the worst speakers I ever heard.⁵ He somewhat resembles McNamara, of the county of Clare, who 'forgot to omit' something. You have no notion of what a stupid set they are altogether, and even our friends are not as zealous as we did expect. There is an English coldness; and, after all, what is it to them if we are crushed? We yesterday waited on Sir Francis Burdett, who met us in company with Brougham, Hobhouse, Abercrombie, Sir John Newport, and Jas. Grattan. They have resolved to present the grand petition this night and to fix a day for its discussion. We are to dine to-day at half after three, and to be in the house till late. Sir Francis Burdett improves much on acquaintance. Brougham is a manly plain man; Abercrombie is a Chancery Lawyer in great business, and represents the high Whigs; Hobhouse appears to me to be a direct-minded, honest man. I spent an hour with Cobbett and was greatly pleased with him. He is a bold clear-headed fellow, and his views are distinct and well intentioned. I confess, darling, I have been pleased altogether with this trip. Mr. Sheil, McDonnell and I went this morning with Lord Althorp, who is son to the Earl Spencer, one of the wealthiest and most influential peers. We receive every compliment imaginable. Crowds of peers and parliament men pouring in upon us. I am made the 'spokesman' of every meeting. I have no doubt but this visit will do 'the cause' some good, if it were in nothing else but in showing us what a base and vile set the House of Commons is composed of. Darling, this is a long dissertation on politics. Be assured I will take care of my Nell,⁶ my sweet Nell. Do leave that to me.

Your fondest,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁴ Sir J. Singleton Copley, afterwards Lord Lyndhurst.

⁵ Right Hon. Charles W. W. Wynn had sat in Parliament from 1790, and at the time of his death, in 1850, was the oldest member of

the House.

⁶ His eldest daughter, afterwards Mrs. FitzSimon, accompanied him to London. She died January 23, 1833.

London: 22d February, 1825.

My darling Love,—I wrote half a letter to you from the hotel, but I have not had time to go back there to finish it—so, darling, that half must remain over till to-morrow. This day I got Kate's letter, and wish you would give her a sweet kiss for her father.

The Duke of Norfolk, Lord Stourton, and some others were with us this day to arrange a public meeting on Saturday next, where all the talkers are to declaim, amongst the rest your humble servant, whom you must call the worst of all. I was for an hour with the 'sour Sectarian' of the *Morning Chronicle*,⁷ and had a most pleasant conversation with him. The deputies this day unanimously resolved to invite over the bishops⁸ at once. I was commissioned to write to them, and did so accordingly. They will be here before the debate on our petition. We were in the house last night during the debate on the second reading of the bill. It was the most dull and stupid thing imaginable. One scoundrel—a Sir Edward Knatchbull—said that he voted for the bill because I had by my influence *quieted* a district in Ireland which he said was dangerous!!! I did not get to bed till after one this morning, and was not up this day until after ten. Only think of that, sweetest!—but rejoice, my darling, cocknosed, sweetest, saucy, best of women—there is a long name for you!—but rejoice, for every member of the house says 'asso-she-ation.'⁹ Mr. Brougham says it most distinctly, and at both sides it is the universal pronunciation. So you triumph over us all. We are to get a great dinner from Brougham on Sunday; the Duke of Devonshire is to entertain a batch of *us*; we are to get a great dinner from 'the friends of civil and religious liberty.' There will, I think, be a great aggregate meeting of Westminster, and probably another in the city of London. My own opinion is, that the Catholic Cause has gained ground greatly, and that all it requires is an active perseverance.

⁷ Mr. John Black.

⁸ Doctors Murray and Doyle arrived and delivered very remarkable

evidence on the state of Ireland.

⁹ Mrs. O'Connell's pronunciation of the word.

It is vanity to be sure, but *we*, darling, are equal to the rascals in everything, to say the least of it. I rejoice at your victory about asso-she-ation, but I confess I can not help being sorry that my darling girls are defeated.

Maurice *did* make a good speech, but he should not imitate his father's faults by being so personal. Let me know if there be any thing which I ought to write about and which I do not. I wish I could be more detailed. I will endeavour in future to send you a regular journal. Tell me what says my sweet Dan to the world. What does he think of his father's absence? I promise you, darling, not to be so long in bed of a morning in future; but it will console you to know that I never was in better health or in better spirits.

Ever yours, darling,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Cooke's Hotel, Albemarle Street, London: 22nd February, 1825.

My own and only Love,—It was Kate¹ wrote the letter I got this morning, and I do most tenderly, tenderly love Kate. Yet, sweetest Mary, I could have wished to see one line also in that handwriting which gives me recollections of the happiest hours of my life, and still blesses me with inexpressible sweetness and comfort when we, darling, are separate. All the romance of my mind *envelopes* you, and I am as romantic in my love this day as I was twenty-three years ago, when you dropped your not unwilling hand into mine. Darling, will you smile at the *love letters* of your *old* husband? Oh no—my Mary—my own Mary will remember that she has had the fond and faithful affections of my youth, and that if years have rolled over us they have given us no cause to respect or love each other less than we did in early life. At least, darling, *so* think I. Do not smile, either, at the mere circumstance of not getting a letter making me somewhat melancholy. It is *so* cheering to my heart to hear from *you*—it is *so* delicious to me to read what you write that

¹ His daughter Katharine, afterwards married to Charles O'Connell of Bahoss. This lady is still alive.

indeed I can not but feel lonely when I do not read your words.

23d February, 1825.—I was hurried out yesterday before I could finish my letter to you—I mean this letter—I wrote, however, from the tavern where we dine. I yesterday went to the House of Commons after dinner, but finding from Sir Francis Burdett that he would present the petition on Tuesday next when he makes his motion on its merits, I left the house and soon came home. This morning *soon after eight* I was called by James to see young Mr. Cobbett, and accompanied him to his father. I found the family at breakfast. Cobbett has got the Westminster folks to bestir themselves, and we shall have a meeting—an aggregate meeting in the open air, to which I will have a chance of expressing my sentiments fully. There is also to be a meeting of the Livery of London. No person can attend but a Livery man, and therefore I am to become a Livery man—in other words, a freeman of London. I believe I am already—a Pattenmaker of this City. Only think that you are a Pattenmaker's wife. I will make Pattens, I suppose, all the rest of my life. It will be a great opportunity to harangue on Ireland's want and woes. The Catholic meeting is to take place on Saturday in the Freemasons' Hall. Sheil and I are to speak. I am sorry to tell you that I must speak badly. After I came in from Cobbett's we attended in St. James's Street for two or three hours—we *meet* all enquirers there in a room at the Thatched House Tavern, it is called. We had a deputation of the English Catholics to settle with us as to the form of the petition to be presented to the House of Lords. We dine on Saturday at Lord Stourton's. On Sunday at Brougham's to meet the Dukes of Sussex and of Devonshire &c. We are asked for Sunday the 6th of March by the Duke of Norfolk. There is a better chance of emancipation certainly by our having come over. We are certainly working on the English mind. I calculate on opening an agitation shop here quite exclusive of my pattenmaking! Believe me, darling, I would soon carry the question if I did. Tell my children, my darling

children, how tenderly I love them. Tell Maurice I trust to his prudence and care of everything. A little law reading and a little earlier rising would do him no harm.

Ever, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

London: 24th February, 1825.

My darling Heart,—Every arrangement is made for the English Catholic meeting on Saturday. The Bishop of Norwich sent Sir Henry Parnell to me to beg I would let myself be introduced to him. Of course I complied, and will see the bishop to-morrow. I am to be examined before the Committee on Irish affairs on Tuesday next. I can tell them some facts and give them more theory. I was working all day to get up a meeting of the Livery of London, and I am myself now a freeman of that City. We are getting on pretty well amongst ourselves, but Finn² seems to me to be more easily displeased than anybody else. I believe I will go to *the House* this night, although the interest is nearly lost in that quarter. I have determined to make a long speech at the Catholic meeting, but my anxiety is great, so that I have every reason to fear that I may not speak well. I am obliged to go to the House of Lords to see Lord Donoughmore.

London: 25th February, 1825.

My darling Heart,—I wrote part of a letter at the hotel this morning, but unfortunately was summoned before the Committee for Irish Affairs, where I spent the far greater part of the day. I was examined on various points. Increase of the peasantry in numbers, state of the peasantry, titles to lands, registry of freeholds, freehold tenures, expenses of law proceedings, civil bill courts, manor courts, civil bill ejectments, and I am to be examined again on Tuesday. It consumed a great part of the day, and was *therefore* inconvenient. I was this morning with Sir H. Parnell to visit the Bishop of Norwich. A fine, lively old

² W. F. Finn, afterwards M.P. for Kilkenny, one of the deputation.

gentleman he is. He is full of his anxiety for Catholic emancipation, and I pray God he may live to be a Catholic himself.³ Nothing else has occurred to tell you, darling, and I believe you have more regular information on the subject of Catholic affairs than any one else. The fact is, darling, that the Catholic cause has certainly advanced in spite of its enemies. It is daily gaining ground, and gaining it in the best way upon the popular mind. The people are becoming better informed on the subject of the Catholic claims and Catholic religion. Depend on it, darling, that the fact is as I tell you. Peel was in the room during a great part of my examination this day. Sir Henry Parnell was the principal person who examined me, next to him Spring Rice. Vesey Fitzgerald asked me several questions, Lord Ennismore a few, Capt. Maberley a few. It is probably vanity, but I thought they were struck with my evidence. Lord Milton asked me some pertinent questions. He is eldest son to Lord Fitzwilliam. Lord Althorp also asked me questions. Nothing could be more civil and polite than they were all of them to me. You will smile when you see my evidence. How sorry I am that you and my family are not here about me, my own, own darling love.⁴

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Cooke's, Albemarle St., London: about 28 February [1825].

My own, own Love,—I have succeeded, love. I was sincerely afraid of a failure, I know well that you were not; but, darling, my mind is at ease. I have, I may tell you, succeeded. I had the meeting as cheering and as enthusiastic as ever a Dublin aggregate could be. Lavalette Bruce—the Bruce who assisted at the escape of Lavalette—was there. He is a fastidious, but fashionable person, and has carried my fame through the fashionable clubs.

³ Dr. Henry Bathurst. Born 1744, died 1837. His son and daughter became Roman Catholics

⁴ This letter is printed from the

original, but it previously appeared with several interesting papers addressed to O'Connell in the *Irish Monthly*.

In short, the thing has gone off infinitely better than I did or could expect.

On Thursday I was in the House of Lords an object of some curiosity. The Duke of Leinster was civil to me, but not in the manner mentioned in the newspapers. Indeed, he was very civil. I wrote to you on Friday. I take up the Journal with Saturday. On that day the meeting was held; it was full but not crowded; you have seen the report of the proceedings. Write a line to Staunton⁵ to tell him that the best report of my speech is in the *Morning Herald*. I beg of him to print that report. We dined on Saturday at Lord Stourton's. He contrived by asking me to help him in carving to place me between him and the Duke of Norfolk, where I was feasted and flattered to the highest degree. Lord Stourton said that neither Pitt nor Fox was my equal. Charles Butler⁶ said that since the days of Lord Chatham he had heard nothing like me. So, darling, I was vain enough, and I thought of the sweet little woman I belong to, and what a sweet kiss she owes me.

After mass yesterday we had a meeting with Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Brougham, Lord Milton, Mr. Abercrombie, Sir John Newport, the Knight of Kerry, and Spring Rice. A long discussion arose on the petition, and everything was arranged for its presentation and debate to-morrow. There was displayed the greatest zeal and anxiety for our success by all the members. I am quite satisfied with their sincerity. We are in great expectation of carrying the measure in the Commons.

I then dined with Mr. Brougham. There were of our deputation present, Lord Killeen, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Hon. Mr. Preston, Sheil, and myself. We had four Dukes—the Duke of Sussex, of Devonshire, of Norfolk, and of Leinster; Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr. Scarlett,⁷ and the leading Whig lawyers; Alderman Wood,

⁵ A Dublin journalist.

⁶ An eminent Roman Catholic conveyancer. Born 1750, died 1832. The first Roman Catholic called to the Bar since 1688. He was a

bencher at Lincoln's Inn and acted as Secretary to the Committee for the Repeal of the Penal Laws.

⁷ Afterwards Lord Abinger.

and Mr. Lambton,⁸ son-in-law to Earl Grey. I was placed between the Dukes of Devonshire and Leinster, and opposite to the Duke of Sussex. He (the Duke of Sussex) is very zealous in our cause; but, darling, I do not like him, although he was very kind and courteous to me. He has a great deal of the German trooper⁹ about him, and yet his star and single golden garter have an air that strikes one. I was again most flattered, and Brougham spoke to me warmly of the reports that reached him of my speech.

This day I spent principally with Plunket. Lord Killeen¹ and I were with him twice and had much conversation with him on the great question. He was much for the Veto, but I believe we beat him a good deal out of that and carried him the unanimous protest of the deputies against that measure. He spoke of my being able to do immense good, and I assured him that I was as much disposed as man could be to use that power in order to do good. Darling, you will think that my head is half turned with all these flatteries. But the cause, the sacred cause certainly gains ground daily. We are winning our way with the people and with the House, in spite of Peel and the Orange faction. I am glad I came over, at all events, because I feel that we have accomplished much towards exciting a proper sentiment in England, and with the blessing and assistance of God we will do much more.

Darling, direct to me here, and while I remain send Maurice to get the papers directed to me here. I am proud of my Maurice. Let him, however, check his propensity to personality, which in him is the more dangerous because it has an hereditary source. I am proud of him, notwithstanding. My sweet fellow will do, if he pleases to exert himself.

Most affectionately yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁸ Afterwards Lord Durham, of whom anon.

⁹ During the disastrous period of '98, Hompech's Dragoons, and a regiment called 'Hessians,' acquired

an unenviable notoriety for the outrages they inflicted, especially on women.

¹ Afterwards Earl of Fingall.

To James Sugrue, Esq.

Cooke's Hotel, Albemarle St., London : 2nd March, 1825.

My dear James,—I believe I may venture to say that we are to be emancipated. The tide has turned in our favor; and the reaction of the injustice done us has contributed much to our promised success.

I cannot write more to-day on politics; but I am in the highest hopes. I *believe* Lord Liverpool will take up the question.

To Mrs. O'Connell.

4th March, 1825.

My own darling Heart,—I am now writing to you from the Committee room of the House of Commons, where I am waiting to be examined. I am literally more harried here than in Ireland, because I dine out, and being kept much longer out of bed I can not rise until after eight. Shiel was examined yesterday at great length, and a most comical examination I am told it was. You can not, love, see the examinations in the newspapers until after they are published by the House—that will not be for some weeks. Now, my love, I have the happiness to tell you that emancipation is, I believe, at hand. The opposition to it is, I believe, dissolving fast. Indeed, I am *sure* it is. Yesterday I spent principally between Sir Francis Burdett on the one hand, and Mr. Plunket on the other. Plunket has been very kind in his manner and language to me, and I believe and am sure he is quite sincere in his desire to emancipate the Catholics in the most conciliatory manner possible. He will have no veto²—no arrangements but what our own prelates desire. A provision will be made for our Clergy, which, by the bye, will be so much the better for the friars, as it will leave almost all the individual donations *free*.

Darling—darling, since I wrote the word 'free' I have been under examination. Call my children together—tell

² See p. 70, *ante*.

Danny to fling up his cap for old Ireland. I have now no doubt but that we shall be emancipated. A great Orange man from the north—Sir George Hill³—but his name should not appear in print—has just announced that a number of the English supporters of the Ministry are going in a body to Lord Liverpool *to insist* that he should no longer oppose emancipation. Tell Maurice to go off with this information to James Sugrue and to Cornelius McLoughlin. Let him not name Sir George Hill, because he is not the only member of Parliament to whom the intelligence may be traced. But he should announce *the fact*. I am to-morrow free to write to both those persons, and I will fully. How anxious I am that the Bishops were here! Doctor Murray has not an hour to lose. Darling, go to him yourself, in your carriage, and tell him I respectfully solicited his immediate coming. I wrote to him myself yesterday—in short, we have won the game. May I thank Heaven that it was your husband, sweetest, that won it. If I had not been here nothing would have been done. I *forced* Sir Francis Burdett to bring on his motion. My examination this day related to every thing connected with the Catholics in Ireland—the people, the Church, the friars, the Priests, the Jesuits, &c. &c. &c. Colonel Dawson, the brother-in-law of Peel, again assured me I had done away many prejudices of his. My own, own heart's love, I am sorry to remain away from you, but, darling heart, it is necessary. Blessed be the great God, for it all will be right. The suppression of the association will work wonders. Own darling, I am in the greatest spirits, and I love you the better for that. I forgot to speak of the great charity dinner yesterday. I presided, and you can not *think* what a shaking of hands I got from the ladies after I came out of the chair. Do not be jealous, darling, you have, *I believe*, no occasion.

³ Dr. Madden, in his *United Irishmen* (ii. p. 120, 121), gives a long account of the services rendered by Sir G. Hill against the popular party, and of the rich rewards he reaped. The identification and arrest

of Tone in '98 are said, rightly or wrongly, to have been due to Sir George Hill, whom Madden styles 'Tone's old college friend and intimate acquaintance.' Sir George Hill died in 1839.

Lent agrees with me admirably. I have got an old Douay acquaintance as my *story bearer*.

Your own tender and true,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Edward Dwyer, Acting Secretary to the Catholic Association.

(Confidential.)

London: 14th March, 1825.

My dear Sir,—I have been so busily employed this day on Catholic affairs as to be totally unable to write to or for the Association. I have, however, prepared four resolutions which Mr. O'Gorman will send by this post as suggestions for the Association, but it will be better, I think, to adjourn till Friday, in order to give the gentlemen in Dublin, who take a part in the proceedings, time to deliberate on their resolutions—and to give me time—which I have not this day—to state my reason for its being necessary to vest the funds in a single individual. That, however, is my decided opinion. If Lord Killeen declines the task, the Association must fix on somebody else; but *in an individual* it must be vested. With this and some few differences of a similar nature, there will be no difficulty in working the Catholic cause—if it shall be necessary hereafter to work it further. But I have great happiness in saying that I do not think it will—nay, I am perfectly convinced that Emancipation *must* take place this session. In fact we are now working the *manual* labor of it. The drafts of the Bills are nearly ready—that for mere emancipation is out of my hands.

This letter *must not* be printed. You will, however, from it, procure the Association more full details as to the termination of their labor than have been hitherto stated. I mean as to the mode of expressing our submission to this new law, without injuring the cause.

The Bishops are here, and to them is referred all questions as to the acceptance of a provision,⁴ and the details of such provision if accepted, which, without emancipation, could not possibly be.

⁴ A legal provision for the Roman Catholic clergy.

Everything is most cheering. Several of us will go tomorrow to the Duke of York's Levée. Take care that this letter is not printed. But tell everybody that Emancipation is *certain and speedy*.

Yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

P.S. My next letter will arrive on Thursday. I think you should have a meeting of the Committee ready for the arrival of that post, before the last meeting of the Association is opened. You should make provision for paying Mr. O'Gorman for his time here. His expenses he calculates at about £70. Mr. Sheil should also be paid his expenses, and for his time. I, of course, will never accept one shilling. Again, *let not this letter be printed*. Let no man even speak of paying me either my expenses, or anything else to me.

To Edward Dwyer.

London: 15th March, 1825.

My dear Dwyer,—For the information of the Committee of the Catholic Association—but not to be printed, I give the following opinion.

1st. All the purposes for which the Catholic Rent was collected remain perfectly legal notwithstanding the recent Bill for the Suppression of the Association. Indeed it would be *impossible* to render those purposes illegal without creating great confusion. They remain untouched.

2ndly. Although the purposes of the Catholic Rent remain quite legal, yet these purposes cannot now be carried into effect by any Society, Committee, or body of persons of a more permanent character than for the space of fourteen days. There must not now be any connection between any two bodies of persons thus acting either by communication when the plan is different, or continuation in point of time from one period of fourteen days to another.

3rdly. The purposes of the Catholic Rent as *already* collected may however be carried into effect by any one person acting fairly and *bona fide*. But then such person,

although he may get as a gift the present Catholic Rent for the present purposes, cannot be rendered responsible to any body of persons—and two individuals constitute a body of persons.

4thly. It follows therefore that the only legal disposal of the Catholic Rent that can now be made is by vesting it in some *one* individual of such integrity and honour as to be a sufficient assurance of the faithful and delicate execution of the confidential character which such a donation naturally requires. It is perfectly plain that if Lord Killeen will accept this donation we shall have such an individual as we could desire.

5thly. It will be distinctly understood that in my opinion it is utterly impossible to appoint any *guardians* of the fund, or in short more persons than one. You can not possibly *combine* a second person with that one. It would be in all cases desirable that there should be several combined for public purposes to manage the money, but that would now be an unlawful combination—and we must not in any way violate the law.

6thly. The collection of the Catholic Rent should immediately cease in all quarters. It is to be hoped that our present prospects preclude all fear of its being necessary to resort again to any such measure ; but should such necessity arise means can be found to meet the occasion, and that without violating the law.

Everything is going on as well as possible—better can not be. The plan of our bill has been changed by *one* of the Cabinet Ministers. We thought to have a bill read this week. It is now deemed more expedient to pledge *both the Lords* and the Commons to the measure in the first instance. Accordingly resolutions will again be submitted to the Commons and carried there probably by more than one hundred majority—perhaps 150—and then submitted to the Lords, when there will either be no division or a majority with probably of about twenty, perhaps more. The *bills* will then be brought in, and no doubt exists of their being carried. Mr. Lawless had indeed published a furious tirade in the

Herald this morning calculated to do extreme mischief here, and to raise a flame in Ireland. I look upon his conduct as very wrong, and in saying this I use milder language than the occasion justifies. He does not in fact belong to the deputation. I freely forgive him the base motives he attributes to me such as the selling the people for a silk gown. I would undertake to demonstrate that my journey here will be a loss altogether of £2,000 to me, and *this* is my recompense. Be it so.—Most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

P.S.—Just come from the Duke of York's levée. We were received with the greatest courtesy, I would indeed call it kindness if condescension were not the fittest name from the Royal personage. I am quite pleased.

'Popery' rejoiced in April 1825 when the Bill of Emancipation passed the second reading. But the cup thus raised to millions of expectant lips was rudely dashed aside by the interposition of the Duke of York, then heir-apparent to the throne. He rose in the House of Lords, presented petitions against the act of grace, made touching reference to the conscientious antagonism with which his royal father had opposed it to death, and concluded with a declaration that, in whatever situation in life he might be placed, he would adhere to the principles thus enunciated—'So help me God!' This speech was at once printed in letters of gold, and became the watchword of Ascendancy, while the most intense bitterness was excited in the breast of suffering Ireland. Vainly O'Connell complained that the Government which gave freedom to the Portuguese and to the Catholics of South America left seven millions of Irish Catholics degraded and enslaved. It was not because they were Catholics, he said, for Catholics in doctrine were the same everywhere; but because they were Irishmen. O'Connell was much condemned for alluding to the advanced age of the Duke: how death was the corrector of human errors, being man's hour for repentance and God's opportunity.⁵

It might be supposed that the papers of Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas, Wyse, the historian of the Catholic Association,⁶

⁵ See p. 137, *infra*.

January 27, 1887. In connection

⁶ Letter of Miss Wyse, London, with the above remark see next page.

and a leading light in its councils, would have contained many letters of O'Connell, but on search being made one only appeared. It is in answer to a request to register his vote for the great Waterford election of 1826. 'O'Connell not only took no part,' writes the representative of Mr. Wyse, 'but discouraged our hope of rousing the Forty Shilling Freeholders until a few days before the election, when he became as enthusiastic as any one.'⁷

In fact it was the revolt of these freeholders against their landlords that crushed the power of the Beresfords, long popularly regarded as the scourge of Ireland. A fortnight elapsed ere O'Connell acknowledged the second of the letters addressed to him by Mr. Wyse. But it is not surprising that recent disappointment had made him almost despond.

To Thomas Wyse, Esq.

Darrynane : 14 Oct. 1825.

Dear Sir,—I have most unfortunately mislaid the letters you did me the honour to write me on the subject of registering my freehold in Waterford and the Catholic rent. I am, therefore, unable to answer your letters with the proper direction. It will not, I am sorry to say, be in my power to attend in Waterford before November. I must be at the Provincial meeting on the 24th of this month at Limerick.

With respect to the sum collected of Catholic rent it was by a vote transferred to Lord Killeen. He is the proper person, therefore, to be applied to with respect to any disposal of that money. It is time for me to avoid involving myself out of my sphere in that disgusting obloquy which in Catholic affairs has always attended those who have struggled for this unfortunate country.⁸ I beg, therefore, respectfully to decline giving any opinion on this subject.

Your humble Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ His letters during this struggle will be found on pp. 123–129 of this volume.

⁸ The allusion to obloquy will be explained by a long letter of O'Con-

nell's in the papers of the day, and having reference to an attack made on him by Father, afterwards Bishop, Kinsella, solely, as it would seem, on the ground of an ill-reported

To the Rev. Dr. Donovan, Domestic Prelate to Gregory XVI.

Merrion Square, Dublin: 18th December, 1825.

My respected Friend,—You will attribute to the proper cause—extreme hurry—my not answering letters. If I had time, yours would certainly be one of the first.

I know you are intimate with Dr. Doyle,⁹ and in a kind of despair I write to you, in strict confidence, about him. His mind is full of something towards me that indeed I do not understand. In truth, he is so high in my opinion; I respect and admire his talents and qualifications so much; I know and feel his incalculable value; I estimate the magnitude of his utility so justly, that I can scarcely conceal the anguish his hostility to me produces. I am, of course, convinced that such hostility arises from conscientious conviction in his mind. I have said or done something that he judges to be wrong, and his conduct to me is certainly regulated by that conviction. The attack of Mr. Kinsella; the omitting to anticipate the provincial meeting at Carlow; the speech at the College Dinner; the interference the next day, under the supposition that I had accused the

speech. O'Connell's vindication, dated July 23, 1825, thus began:—

'Sir,—I have been twenty-three years engaged in the Catholic Cause. During that long period many things have occurred calculated to mortify, and some to disgust me. But, either the natural elasticity of my animal spirits, or some other cause, prevented me from being affected by any of the attacks, whether open or insidious, made upon me. I must, however, acknowledge that my period of apathy has terminated. I have at length felt with sensitiveness all the bitterness of reproach—and in the spirit, perhaps, of humiliated pride and mortified vanity, I sit down to reply to a strange and, I will add, most unnecessary public assault, made on me by a very respectable clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Kinsella, of Carlow College.

'Until I saw his letter, I never felt a sensation of regret at the por-

tion of my time and property which has been devoted to Catholic affairs. It is natural that I should overrate the value of that time, and be too sensible of the amount of such property. Yet, till I saw his letter, I never felt regret for the one or the other. But that letter gave rise to feelings of a nature calculated, at least, to make me recollect that one of the most celebrated of Roman patriots died exclaiming that "public virtue was but a name." And if this sentiment obtruded itself upon a great man, why should not so useless and obscure an individual as myself feel a similar pang, when unnecessarily assailed from a quarter to which I would have fondly looked for friendship, for protection, for patronage?'

⁹ The great Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. Born 1787, died 1834.

Prelates of inconsistency; the total absence of a recognition of an error in fact on that subject, even after I had explained; the personal salute which I was obliged literally to extort from him: all these circumstances convince me that I have said or done something to make Dr. Doyle displeased with me. Could you, my respected friend, find out what it was? Believe me, most sincerely, that I would not ask you to find it out if I were not resolved to repair it when discovered. It is, indeed, painful to me that a man whom I so unfeignedly respect and reverence should entertain towards me sentiments of an adverse nature. Perhaps it is ambition which makes me desire his co-operation instead of his opposition. But if it be, I deceive myself. I think that it is a sincere desire to serve Catholicity and Ireland which regulates my anxiety to have his countenance and protection. Do not, I beg of you, let him know I have written to you on this subject. I write merely to throw off a burden from my heart and feelings, and with the simple wish of procuring such information as may enable me to avoid in future that which has created present displeasure to him.

I have written unconnectedly, but that is because I feel more on this subject than I can express.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell, in his anxiety to grasp the boon of Emancipation, consented that it should be accompanied by what were styled the 'wings'—i.e. pensioning the clergy and the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders. He publicly declared that in taking this course he had the full concurrence of Bishops Doyle and Murray. Dr. Doyle, at a meeting held in Carlow some months later, said: 'What my opinion was I declared in London to my right reverend brethren; I repeated it since in Dublin: that if the prelates were led to approve of a provision emanating from the Treasury—if the ministers of Christ were to be paid by the ministers of State for dispensing the mysteries of God—then, in that case, I would not create dissension amongst them; but sooner than that my hand should be soiled by

it, I would lay down my office at the feet of him who conferred it, for if my hand were to be stained with Government money it should never grasp a crozier, or a mitre ever afterwards be fitted to my brow. This was, and is, my fixed determination.'

To the Right Hon. W. C. Plunket, Attorney-General.

March 7th, 1826.

My dear Sir,—I regret that I feel it a duty to inform you that the accounts from the country by those who are well acquainted with the people are terrific. The Ribbon connection has assumed a new form. There is now no oath, nor any very distinct assertion of object. It is spreading fast through Leinster—in the Southern counties almost as much as in the Northern. It has got extensively into Connaught and Munster. It has its origin in the North. The Orangemen of Cavan and Fermanagh have armed themselves with daggers of about fourteen inches in length in the blade, or—what is nearly as bad—the lower orders of Catholics have been made to believe that they are so armed, and in consequence of such report the Ribbonmen are getting similar arms. It is sought not to involve the married men in this society, but *all* the unmarried peasants are expected to join it. One priest assured me that no less than seven youths in his parish of regular habits left his Confessional rather than renounce the system, or abstain from supporting it. I have no remedy to suggest save the increase of the King's troops in Ireland. The exhibition of such a force may alone do good. The Yeomanry are worse than useless. I have done my duty in communicating these facts to you. Those who gave me this information cannot be deceived, and are themselves greatly horrified. The diminution of the currency in both countries will certainly create still greater distress among our landholders, and, of course, increase the tendency to Whiteboyism of every species.

Believe me, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

CHAPTER IV.

Continuance of Agitation—Reception at Rathkeale—A Picturesque Picture—Forensic Triumphs—Succeeds to Darrynane—A Woman hanged under horrible circumstances—Dismal Week at the Cork Assizes—Revolt of the Forty Shilling Freeholders—The Waterford Election of 1826—Beresford beaten—Election Riot—Another Duel—The Order of Liberators—Lord Cloncurry Grand Master—Ludicrous Scene at a Ball—The Knight of the Rueful Visage—The Church Establishment—Death of the Duke of York—Lord Lansdowne—Defeat of Sir F. Burdett's Motion—Death of the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool—Canning takes the Reins—Hope burns brightly in Ireland—O'Connell helps to make the Government—Lord Chancellor Manners—Lord Norbury again—Death of Canning—The Goderich and Wellington Administrations—Lord Anglesey Viceroy—Simultaneous Meetings.

THE sittings of the Catholic Association had extended over months, dealt with divers subjects, and presented the aspect of a mimic parliament. Partly to remove this resemblance, Goulburn's Act, suppressing it, limited the duration of all meetings for petitioning to fourteen days.

In Peel's 'Memoirs' may be seen several 'opinions,' signed by the Law officers of the Crown, showing how various attempts to suppress the Association had been evaded and foiled. The proceedings so familiar to students of old newspaper files, under the heading 'Fourteen Days' Meetings,' were now instituted, as well as 'Aggregate meetings' and monster provincial assemblages. Every county in Ireland convened its thousands, friendly members of other creeds came on invitation, Protestant and Catholic stood shoulder to shoulder; they deliberated and declaimed, and at the close usually dined at a board more genial and united than the Catholic board had been in its best day. These conventions had a powerful effect in knitting together two forces hitherto detached, and inspiring mutual confidence and respect. The burning speeches that fell at the provincial meetings seared their way into the hearts of the peasantry and set their souls on fire. The fact soon became patent that Parliament was powerless to seal the

mouths of millions. Thanks to the energy and eloquence of O'Connell, nowhere was the right to complain more boldly enunciated than at Limerick, where the first of the provincial gatherings for the redress of grievances was held under the auspices of Mr., afterwards the Right Hon. Sir, Thomas Wyse.¹ Between popular ovations and forensic triumphs O'Connell was tolerably busy all this time.

To his Wife.

Tralee : 18th March, 1826.

My own sweetest Love,—If I were to remain in Tralee, you would certainly make a rake of me, and I will tell you *how*. The post does not come in until past ten at night, and then you would keep me up until after the letters were given out. I came here yesterday from Limerick. We had Mass at my Lodgings, and were able to leave it by six in the morning. I got to Rathkeale ;² an immense multitude collected, who took the horses from my carriage, and with a piper, fife, and fiddle, and flag, carried me about a mile out of the town. They took me to the avenue leading to the house of Mr. Roche—Howley's father-in-law. It must have annoyed some of the Orange bigots of that neighbourhood not a little. I got here before six in the evening. It was one of the pleasantest days for travelling I ever experienced in my life, and the view of Tralee Bay, with the declining sun making the sea quite a flood of gold, and the majestic mountains in various masses skirting the opposite side, with vapours assuming the consistency of white clouds, covering a portion of the hills here and there, but leaving the base and summit in every spot plainly visible. It was a scene for a painter, and made me half poetic and entirely patriotic. I do love the beautiful land of my birth. I have had four record briefs, but there

¹ Mr. Wyse was a Lord of the Treasury from 1839 to 1841 ; Secretary to the Board of Control from 1846 to 1849 ; and Minister at Athens from 1849 until his death in 1862. Much responsibility devolved upon him during the Crimean War, and his despatches evince lucidity and

strength. For a powerful picture of O'Connell at this period the reader should see Wyse's *History of the Catholic Association*, vol. i. pp. 197–244.

² A village in the county Limerick.

were only three entered for trial. One was tried; one withdrawn; and the third referred to me, so that the civil business is already quite over. There is a good deal of criminal business, which I hate, and of course a good crop of civil bill appeals, which although too small for other assizes are taken into the net. I write a long letter by this post to Maurice. I hope he will attend to it *at once*. Let me know when he does, that I may write another letter to him; but if one letter were to overtake another uncopied, he would soon neglect all. He should read each letter a couple of times attentively, and then copy it into a book. Give my more than tender love to our children. My Kate liked the ball,³ I hope. Did Lady Wellesley⁴ say anything to them? Or was it like a levée, a curtsey and away? Darling, tell my Maurice I beg of him to attend to his legal studies.—
Ever,

Yours most tenderly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Tralee: 18th March, 1826.

My own Love,—Your good news of my dear FitzSimon⁵ came to cheer me last night as I was going to bed, and contributed to keep me awake until after twelve. I rose about six this morning, and now feel so sleepy that I will go to bed as soon as I finish this hasty letter. I can *now* afford to leave my letters in the post office till morning. . . . All our buildings [at Darrinane] are going on gaily. John⁶ O'Connell is planting the world and all. I hope I will be able to prevail on my daughters to come down very very early next summer. It would be a very great object to me to get rid of a £1,000 of my debts during the two next terms. If I were able to do *that* out of my profession, I would soon be altogether free. How I long for *that* day, darling. Nothing,

³ At Dublin Castle.

⁴ The wife of the Lord Lieutenant—the 'Lady Lieutenant,' as Dublin society called her.

⁵ His son-in-law.

⁶ Brother of Sir Maurice O'Connell, sometime Governor of New South Wales. He lived at Darrynane, and superintended the building and planting in 'the Counsellor's' absence.

however, but some substantial remaining⁷ at Darrinane, without anything like an establishment in Dublin, will do it.

Your ever tender and most true,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Tralee: 21st March, 1826, Tuesday.

My darling Love,—I merely hope that your pains have left you, for I perceive with sorrow that you do not say that they have. Do, my darling, tell me precisely how you are, and if possible give consolatory news. Darling, the assizes are nearly over. The man and woman have been convicted for the murder of her former husband. The evidence was by no means satisfactory, but they were believe, really guilty. The woman is large with child and can not be executed until after she is brought to bed. What a horrible state for the wretched being to be in! I have but one brief remaining, but I do not mean to leave this until late on Thursday, just in time to go to Kilarney that evening. The next day, please God, I will arrive at an early hour in Cork, and I must find *letters* from you before me there. My own opinion is that the Cork assizes will be driven very close to an end by Saturday, the 2nd of April. These judges do an immense deal of business in seven working days. I will have but two days at Darrinane.⁸ I go there merely to take care that the place shall be ready at an early period in summer for your reception. I am not a little impatient to have all my building then quite finished and at an end. . . . I delight to indulge myself in writing of my children. Darling, talk to them of their father in terms of the fondest kindness. Tell them I rave of their sweetness and goodness, and fold to your heart the fond consciousness of being the most loved woman in the world, for, darling, you are doated of in the inmost heart of

Your ever fond

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ 'Permanent residence' is evidently meant.

⁸ By the death of 'Old Hunt-

ing Cap' (p. 2, *ante*) he had just succeeded to Darrynane.

To his Wife.

Tralee : 22d March, 1826.

My darling Love,—I can not hear from you, darling, from *this* till Friday evening, that is from this night. That, darling, is another melancholy fact to me. I do not, sweetest, like this week at all as far as my personal convenience is concerned. It is indeed a dismal week. But Easter is now *very, very* near. Darling, I will send you money as soon as I arrive in Cork, and you *may* easily believe me when I tell you that I will be greatly impatient to be again with you and my darling children. I gave your scolding message to *Miss Connor*. I am to get credit for eleven shillings British, or as the common people here call it, *Protestant money*, from Betsey. I dined at Rick's this day, when we had an excellent dinner of various fish; but fish, darling, is a rascally article. I have the most cordial and popish hatred of fish of every kind. The assizes are now all over, save presentments and other matters of mere routine. The unfortunate woman lay in last night after her sentence was pronounced, and will therefore be executed in a few days. The execution would have been long postponed, if her horror and affright had not caused a premature confinement. What an unhappy wretch! May her great God be merciful to her. I have no kind of Kerry news to send you. The county is as dull as dulness can possibly be. They attempted to get up a ball, but it was put down by universal consent. Darling, your disappointment at not having your visit returned⁹ shows how idle it would be to attach any importance to courtly smiles. I am quite sure you do not; but it is the more unaccountable because Serjeant Gould assured me that the Lord Lieut. declared he would invite us both to one of his state dinners. What a grand little woman you will be then, my sweet, darling heart!

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁹ Formerly the wife of the Lord Lieutenant left cards on the ladies who attended her Drawing-rooms.

*To his Wife.*Cork : 3d April, 1826.¹

My own sweet Love,—This rascally assizes will, I think, never be over. I have altogether six briefs undisposed of. I do not think to-morrow will finish the entire. And then I have to arrange every thing else for my departure. I have, however, had the happiness to close with Hedges for the young O'Sullivans, and now that family is safe and independent. *That* is some comfort to your husband, God's holy name be praised and glorified. How I long for to-morrow evening, to tell me how my sweet darling boy is. How miserable *could* he make me. . . . I should rather travel on Thursday, as I hate travelling on a fish day, and besides, I am not a little impatient to be at home. I found, darling, that whiskey is extremely cheap at present. It is as low as 5s. 9d. a gallon. I have availed myself of the cheapness to send a tierce of it containing 43 gallons to Darrinane, not to be opened until after your arrival there. It will be the better for lying by much longer, and I hope to continue to give it age. If I can get down from Dublin another cask of excellent spirits, we will *manage* them, love, in great style. At all events, we will not have occasion to be sending for them in small quantities. The business I have now to detain me here are six briefs; those I hope to get over to-morrow. . . . Darling, you are most loved by, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It had long been customary in Ireland for the landlords at elections to drive their tenants to the booths, like sheep to their pens, but this docility now gave place to a stubborn stand. The year 1826 was made memorable by the revolt of the 'forty-shilling freeholders,' and Waterford was won from the Beresfords. Under pressure, or corrupt influence, a very Catholic constituency had heretofore sent to Parliament a foe to their civil and religious freedom. Every lucrative post had long been notoriously in the gift

¹ The postage on this letter to Dublin was 1s. 8d.

of the Beresfords. It was time to resist this huge monopoly, and Mr. Villiers Stuart volunteered to grapple with it.

Dromana : 19th June, 1826.

My own sweet Love,—Here I am at this lovely spot.² I believe it is that which Lady Morgan makes the scene of many of the incidents in 'Florence McCarthy.' It is really a beautiful situation. As to yesterday, *first*, I wrote to you from Waterford and enclosed you a cheque for £35; next, sweetest, we heard an early mass at Waterford and then started for Dungarvan. We breakfasted at Kilmaethomas, a town belonging to the Beresfords, but the people belong to us. They came out to meet us with green boughs and such shouting you can have no idea of. I harangued them from the window of the inn, and we had a good deal of laughing at the Beresfords. Judge what the popular feeling must be when in this, a Beresford town, every man their tenant, we had such a reception. A few miles farther on we found a chapel with the congregation assembled before mass. The Priest made me come out and I addressed his flock, being my second speech. The freeholders here were the tenants of a Mr. Palliser, who is on the adverse interest, but almost all of them will vote for us. We then proceeded to Dungarvan on the coast. There are here about four hundred voters *belonging* to the Duke of Devonshire. His agents have acted a most treacherous part by us, and our committee at Waterford were afraid openly to attack these voters lest the Duke should complain of our violating what he calls his neutrality. But I deemed that all sheer nonsense, and to work we went. We had a most tremendous meeting here; we harangued the people from a platform erected by the walls of a new chapel. I never could form a notion of the great effect of popular declamation before yesterday. The clergy of the town most zealously assisted us. We have, I believe, completely triumphed, and I at present am convinced we shall poll to the last man of these voters. We then had a public dinner and great speaking. We

² Residence of Mr. Villiers Stuart.

broke up about nine, and Wyse and I came here with Mr. Stuart in his carriage. We arrived about half after ten, and are going this day to Lismore on another mission.

I cannot tell you what a sweet spot this is. The tide rises to a considerable distance away, and gives this noble river a most majestic appearance. Darling, I must give up poetic ideas and tell you in plain prose that I do doat on you and your children.

Yours and yours only,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Villiers Stuart retained O'Connell as his counsel; but in order to give the latter a claim to state his views from the hustings, he was proposed as a fit person to represent the county. O'Connell's speech—one of the most striking that ever fell even from him—lasted for two hours. He reminded the crowd which surged around him, that too long had they been forced to vote for the degradation of their religion and for the enslavement of themselves, their children, and their country. He closed with an assurance that, unwilling to disturb the unanimity of the county, he would withdraw his personal pretensions. The Beresford standard was marked by general desertion; men who got bribes displayed them in open court, and on the fifth day of the contest Lord George Beresford retired, leaving Villiers Stuart master of the field. But the tenants, who had broken through their thralldom, were soon overtaken by reprisal. Arrears of rent were exacted, and the forty-shilling freeholders were driven from their homes; however, they carried out heroically the revolution begun, and two years later returned O'Connell himself for Clare. Sheil confessed that he did not expect to find such virtue under rags. The following letters furnish a record of the week's work.

To his Wife.

Waterford: 21st June, 1826.

My darling Heart,—I found yesterday, on my arrival from Dromana, two letters from you, which were, you will believe it, no small cordial to my spirits. I love you, darling Mary, in my heart's tenderest core . . . Though you appear so anxious to be off for Kerry before my arrival in Dublin, I

hope I will *disappoint* you. I should so like to disappoint you, and my hopes are founded on this—that the election of Stuart *now* appears to me *quite certain*. I took my former opinion from timid persons here; my present is founded on actual experience. The Priests have gained over a sufficient number of the *adverse* voters to insure us a decided majority. We have already in town a sufficient number of the enemy's forces to decide the victory. When I wrote last on Monday I was at Dromana. We started soon after for Cappoquin and Lismore, through the loveliest scenes in nature. I was with Stuart in his own chaise with four horses, but we had no great occasion, for they were taken off before we got to Cappoquin, and we were drawn by freeholders three miles into Lismore. I never had a notion of popular enthusiasm till I saw that scene. My name was often and often mixed with his. There were thousands covering the precipitous banks of the Blackwater at Lismore. The chapel is extremely spacious. It was crowded to suffocation. We made several harangues, and your husband was as usual much cheered; but, what was better, the freeholders crowded in and put down their names in groups, and they are all now arriving in shoals. The Duke of Devonshire was to have been *neutral*, but I believe I have helped to put an end to his absurd notion of neutrality. Now, darling, you wished to take some of the present furniture to Darrinane. Do so, darling; take as much of it as you choose. I refused you this before, now I am sorry I refused you anything. I believe I will send James up to help you to pack, but to-morrow's letter will enable me to decide.

Yours most tenderly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Waterford: 22d June, 1826.

Darling,—You *could* not deceive me, darling, and you never never wilfully did so. The moment I read the passage in your letter which said that Kate would write to

me the next day, I felt that you were conscious of an approaching heavy fit of illness—and oh! how bitterly have my fears been realised! You are, darling, very ill, otherwise there would be one fond line from that hand which delighted my youthful love and does indeed, darling, cheer the beginning autumn of my life. Sweetest, however, I now forbid you to write one, even one line until you are out of bed. *If you love me*, darling, you will not write a line till you are able to write an entire letter. [His daughter Kate is referred to.] Nell is more like me, and I love her with an enthusiasm which is the most tender and sweet sensation that any man can experience. Kate is like you, Mary, in one thousand things. She reminds me of you when you were a girl, and her dear darling heart, which almost breaks when her poor dog is sick, recalls the tenderness with which my clumsy efforts to express my love to my Mary were met. I love, darling, that dog of Kate's. I love anything that her love rests upon. Darling, I thus run on raving and letting my heart flow on *you*, early and only love. . . . I am sure dearest Maurice and his sisters are attentive to you; and if Danny inherits with his father's gaiety something of his father's feelings, he will walk slowly, and slide along without noise, while the poor '*mud*' that idolises him is ill, my Mary. But I must not indulge in these topics.

Darling, if I were in spirits I would tell you with an air of triumph that the return of Stuart is now nearly certain. Indeed I think quite certain.

Your most faithful

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Waterford: June 23rd, 1826.

I write only to say, darling love, that I will not have one moment of happiness till I see a letter in your own handwriting; and yet do not—do not, sweetest, run any risk by attempting to write before you are perfectly able to do so. I can not avoid telling you that we are winning fast

on this day's poll, and on this day alone we shall have, I hope, a majority of from sixty to one hundred. I can not write more; I am out of spirits.

To his Wife.

Waterford: 25th June, 1826, Sunday.

My own sweet darling Mary,—Need I tell you that I was delighted to get a letter all in your own handwriting?—but I was *a little* uneasy at its being so long lest you should thereby have incommoded yourself; and yet, sweet Mary, I *do* like to get a long letter from you. Now, saucy little woman, let me scold you for getting this attack. I will lay a pound to a penny that I know how you got it. The hot weather made you dress lighter, and so in this climate, it not being capable of being done with impunity, you caught cold. Do not deny it, sweetest, like a little *fibbing* old woman as you are. For my part, I continue to wear my winter dress except my cloak, and even that I put on after nine in the evening if I go out. But I never, thank God, enjoyed better health. There is all the *buoyancy* of youthful spirits about me now that you are well, and all the *racy* triumphs at the success of agitation, which an agitator by profession can alone enjoy. Indeed, darling, as you are better I am happy. The Beresfords are determined to die hard. They will continue the poll to-morrow, and probably Tuesday, but I think they must be exhausted by Tuesday at the latest. The moment the election is over I will fly to you.

To his Wife.

Waterford: 26th June, 1826, Monday.

I had no chance, my darling, of hearing from you this day, and yet I feel melancholy at being obliged to wait till to-morrow, in order to ascertain how your cold gets on. In other respects I have every reason to be in spirits. We are beating those bigotted and tyrannical wretches; they are now practising every species of delay and spinning out the time. The fact is there is no artifice whatsoever but is resorted

to in order to gain time. At this rate we will not be out of this before Saturday, or *at least* Thursday. Nothing can be more vexatious to a person so *impatient* as I am to be with you and my darlings—but we are beating the *scoundrels* in such style that it is quite a comfort to me in this delay to gain such a victory over them. It is really ludicrous the length they go to in delaying us—so much so that I am delaying *you* by this tedious account of the delays of others. I am writing in a crowded court, where I came at nine o'clock, and will have to remain until at least seven o'clock this evening, and then we are to have speaking to the people, so that this, like many others, will be indeed a busy day. . . .

Yours most tender and true,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Waterford: 27th June, 1826.

My own darling Heart,—How well I knew it was the change of dress that brought on the attack. My constitution is, thank God, excellent, but it is preserved by the care I take not to yield to the temptation of giving myself present relief by making my cloathing lighter. But let me not think of scolding you, *for fear* I should pay for it. Darling John sent me an express from Killarney to announce the dreadful massacre committed in Tralee by the orders, John says, of Major Mullins and George Rowan. He is very anxious with me to go off to Tralee, but I cannot leave this until it will be too late for the Tralee Election.³

Mullins and Rowan caused the police to fire in the streets of Tralee and shot five men dead and wounded eight. John was looking on, and says there was nothing like an adequate cause for firing. It is, however, likely that this circumstance alone may put an end to the contest. I believe you will be glad to hear that I have bought myself

³ In 1826 Colonel James Cuffe was returned for the borough of Tralee for the third time; but, eigh-

teen months later, was succeeded by Sir Edward Denny, Bart.

a noble stout grey horse. They say in my family that the grey mare is the better horse—but this grey horse is a noble one. . . . It would now be impossible for Beresford to succeed, and yet I must remain here as long as they can poll a single man.

Yours most tenderly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The tragic incident at Tralee it is well to explain more fully.

On stones being thrown the 60th Rifles were ordered to charge the people, who retreated into the yard of the Catholic chapel, merely to find themselves in a *cul de sac*, as the chapel doors were locked. Meanwhile the clerk secured the iron gate through which they had just entered; and the soldiers, resting their muskets on its bars, fired on the people now standing at bay outside the chief door of the chapel. O'Connell has told the result. A man with one leg, afterwards in the employment of Mr. Leyne's family, sustained his loss in the *mêlée*; and James Connor, the nephew of Mrs. O'Connell, when looking out of a window was fired at, but the bullet flattened itself against the wall. The 60th Rifles have never since been sent to Tralee.

To his Wife.

Waterford: 28th June, 1826.

My own Love,—Your letter of this day gave me, of course, the most unfeigned pleasure. It is delightful to me to perceive that you are getting so well; all my happiness is centered in you, my own love, and I rejoice so much that we are to travel together. You may, however, imagine how anxious I am to learn again from Kerry. The newspapers, I see, contain no kind of notice of the Kerry murders. Here, where passion and party spirit run highest—here, where the feeling of triumph over faction is at its height, we have not the slightest species of disturbance. We have kept the people perfectly tranquil. You can not conceive what an impression I amongst others made on the people to keep them perfectly quiet. Nothing can provoke them to any, even the slightest, breach of the peace. There were

many regiments brought into the county and several additional bodies of police, and it must be most pleasing to form such a contrast with other counties. Darling, I hate *the place* whence I write. It is in the open court, where I am obliged to cover every line which I write to prevent *accidental* over reading.

$\frac{1}{2}$ after two. The poll is almost over on Beresford's side. *We* are polling on in almost all the booths, so that we will this evening have a most enormous majority. All we have to take care of is some paltry trick on the part of these vile Beresfords. I hope to be able to leave this to-morrow, but even *that* is so uncertain that I beg of you to answer this letter, although I hope I will be with you before that answer can reach me. We had a duel this morning between two of our attornies; they fired two shots each without any mischief. Our attorney was a Mr. O'Brien Dillon—theirs a Mr. Charles Maunsell.

To a Kinsman.

Merrion Square: 4th July, 1826.

My dear Friend,—Mary's illness and the shocking state of arrear into which the Waterford election threw my professional business necessarily brought me to Dublin, and the County election here deplorably wanted my assistance. All, however, is now right. I wrote yesterday to John to give my advice about the election. Col. Crosbie *must* insist on his being returned, as he had the show of hands the first day and as Hare it is who calls for a poll. That poll is plainly illegal. The sheriff ought certainly to be hanged; but if he escape the gallows—which God forbid!—he will be imprisoned for months in Newgate. There were five Catholic peasants justly hanged for the horrid murder of one Protestant at the cross of Shinah. It was quite just that it should be so. Shall it be said that five Catholics shall be basely slaughtered in the streets of Tralee without retribution or atonement? I think it impossible. The sheriff who ordered the firing, and the officers, soldiers, and police-

men who fired, are all guilty, according to the coroner's inquest, of wilful murder, and we all would participate in their guilt if we permitted the assassins to escape with impunity. This is a solemn and sacred duty to which, for one, I devote my best energies, 'to bring murderers to justice.' I will not, however, attend an illegal poll. This election must be set aside.

Ever yours affectionately,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Cork : 29th July, 1826.

My own Love,—I feel lonely at not hearing from you. Do, darling, write to me as soon as you receive this letter.

All the City records are tried except one. We begin with the county records on Monday, and I think three days will be quite sufficient for that purpose; so that, love, I hope and trust I will be with you by this day week. You perceive that I can thus spend a week with you in Tralee, before the Waterford meeting, and then, my Heart, I will at once be back with you for the rest of the Vacation . . .

We have had a busy day. I spoke to evidence with some effect in one cause—the only heavy one that was tried. It was a poor man against a rich one. I was on the right side. . . .

To his Wife.

Cork : July 31st, 1826.

I had the happiness to find your letter of yesterday before me. How I hate to be away from you—how I detest being separated from my own darling Mary. . . . Do you know why I am cheerful this day? Almost every client of mine got verdicts. We had two *sporting* cases against that *nasty* Lord Mountcashel. I could not have written to you yesterday. We went down to Cove⁴ in a noble steam-boat. There were about three hundred persons on board; no rocking or unpleasant motion. There was a charity sermon at Cove—a very excellent one, in support of a fever

⁴ Now Queenstown.

hospital. We then dined with a very cheerful and pleasant party at the bishop's,⁵ and came up again in as crowded a company in the steam boat. We got to the quay at near ten o'clock, but had not water enough to land for about an hour. Much as you dislike *Navigation* you would, I think, be pleased with the Cove steam boat when the water is delightfully smooth and the scenery most beautiful. Good night, sweetest darling. May the great God of Heaven pour his choicest blessings on my own darling Mary, on my Angel Kate, on my dearest Betsey, and my most loved Dan.

To his Wife.

Cork : 2nd August, 1826.

My darling Love,—Judge Torrens fortunately is sitting this day, but he is taken up with civil bills. He, however, is so far getting on that I disposed of five briefs in his court this day. I hate, darling, these delays, and it is this which makes me dream of having you here. It is foolish to think of it and yet you *could* come to Killarney to Kitty's, and Kate and you and Betsey *could* take the entire inside of 'the Lady of the Lake coach' the next day and so be here with me at little expense; but it is a dream. I love to dream of you, my own and only love. I am very glad to find that your health improves. If you would but *undertake* not to get ill any more you would greatly oblige me, sweetest love. I have been just this moment counsel for a man who has been convicted for the murder of his wife. I am not quite satisfied with the verdict, and yet I conjecture that he did kill her; if so, *even you* will admit that he deserves his fate. Darling, it vexes me to think that I should be kept here by this *unreasonable accident* of Judge Torrens' illness. Since I wrote the first page I've got rid of two records; there remain *but* eleven. If we are lucky we will get over these to-morrow, but that, I fear, is too much to expect. I have besides some criminal briefs. . . . You will easily judge of my impatience to be with you, my own darling love. I will send horses from Killarney to be at

⁵ The Right Rev. Dr. Coppinger, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne.

Killorglin the night before you leave Tralee. We will take as little luggage with the carriage itself as possible. . . . I intend to ride my own horse all the way, or at least as far as he will carry me comfortable, at least from Killorglin. The lighter the carriage goes on that road the better, and I think that horse will take me in great style. . . .

Yours most tenderly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife

Cork : 3d August, 1826.

My darling Mary,—You ought to know the state of the records here quite as well as if you were registrar to a judge. The heaviest cause is over, and there remain but eight to be tried. I should fain hope these will be over to-morrow. I *think* I can be off on Sunday. I do not like travelling that day, but it will be after Mass of course, and perhaps I am bound to husband my time infinitely better than I have ever done. I will not, however, go unless I can do so with perfect propriety. At all events, Monday will, please God, convey me to you. Thus I rave about going to my darling love and *her* children. I enclose you another five pound note *to take care of* for your husband. . . . Oh, darling, how we will doat of little Mary FitzSimon!⁶ I am determined it is to be *Mary*; and *Mary*, darling, is a sweet name.

To his Wife.

Waterford : 28th August, 1826, Monday.

My darling Heart,—My life has literally been a journey since I saw you. On Wednesday to Carhen, Thursday to Lakeview. James⁷ *shyed* at spending eight or ten pounds, and would not come here. We had a preparatory meeting yesterday, at which I was obliged to draw all the resolutions. We met this day at ten, and in fact I had to arrange every thing of the details of the business. We had, indeed, a

⁶ His grandchild just born. Mary she was accordingly christened, and in 1850 became the wife of Henry Redmond, Esq., now Resident Magis-

trate at Queenstown. This charming lady, whom to know was to love, died a grandmother in 1880.

⁷ His brother.

grand meeting to-day. The Church is beautiful. William Roche, of Limerick, was in the chair. Wyse moved and spoke to the first resolution. He made a very good speech. Coppinger moved the second resolution with a good *sing-song* speech. The third resolution was moved by John O'Brien, of Limerick, in a *neat speech*. But why should I detain you with details which you will see in the newspapers? I spoke for an hour and a half, and they say I made a *brilliant* speech. I suppose I did not, because, in fact, I do think I made a good one, and nobody is half so bad a judge of his speech as the speaker himself. But I never was more cheered, neither did I ever *move* an assembly so much. I am sorry Maurice did not come. Our grand dinner takes place to-morrow, and Lord Fitzwilliam, the great and good, dines at it. It will be very splendid.

Give my kindest love to our children, sweetest Kate and dearest Betsey, my Maurice and John and *your* Dan—the only Dan you could truly love.

To his Wife.

Cork: 2d Sept. 1826.

My darling Mary,—How I hate cross-posts. . . . Now for my travels. We had, you know, a great dinner. I made a famous speech; everything was superb. On Wednesday I quietly installed my Liberators.⁸ They will make a noise yet. You would laugh to hear the multitude of wiseacres I had advising me on that subject. My brother John was one of those who think that I do not know what I am about in politics. How much I mind their sapient advice! The Liberators will *do* yet. Darling, we

⁸ In order to protect the patriotic Forty Shilling Freeholders from the anger of their landlords, O'Connell established an organisation which he called 'The Order of Liberators.' It consisted of three grades of distinction. Two acts of real service to Ireland entitled a man to the Knight Companionship, and so on; Lord Cloncurry became the Grand Master. O'Connell also origi-

nated at this time the Freeholders' Fund. The *Mail*, the organ of Mr. Attorney-General Saurin, sought to console the Beresfords and others who had been ousted from power by these Freeholders. 'It was the Protestant landlords of the soil that made these freeholds, and they can unmake them.' In seven years, it was added, their extermination might be achieved.

had on Wednesday night a Catholic Charity ball. It was the first the Catholics ever gave in Waterford. Stephen Coppinger⁹ *must* needs dance in a quadrille with Madame Wyse.¹ You never saw anything so ludicrous—his sepulchral aspect and funereal step were most powerfully contrasted with her elegant *Italian* dancing, almost too airy indeed for a sober company without being at all indelicate. I was greatly amused at it. They had great fun at supper, when they made him make several speeches and give her health three times in various shapes. The next day, Thursday, was *my dinner*. Nothing could be better. We had a most numerous, respectable, and honest meeting, an immense deal of good speaking, &c. Yesterday, at nine in the morning, I left Waterford in the mail, or rather on it. I was received with great cheering in all the towns. At Tallaght there were bonfires blazing, and when I came to Orange Youghal—for it is very Orange—the people had a chair and flags, and I was regularly chaired through the town. Such shouting and then hooting at the *adverse faction* I never heard. It was very ludicrous and very amusing. I did not get in here till ten at night. I have been working at my trade all day long. I never was in my life better. Oh that I had but such a sentence under your sweet hand! I believe I did not sign my last letter at all, but you could guess who it came from. I mean on Monday to go to Tralee, on Thursday back to Killarney, and on Friday at the latest to sweet Darrinane.

Yours most doatingly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁹ The late Stephen Coppinger, B.L., occasionally acted as provincial secretary to the Catholic Association. On becoming one of the Order of Liberators, O'Connell playfully dubbed him 'Knight of the Rueful Visage.' When a Catholic cemetery was projected by O'Connell, Coppinger was one of the first who joined the Burial Committee. O'Connell was chairman, and said: 'I

think we should all feel grateful to Mr. Coppinger for lending us his countenance.'

¹ Mr. Thomas Wyse, of Waterford, married, in 1821, Letitia, daughter of Lucien Buonaparte, Prince of Canino. During the Waterford election she wore orange ribbons round the soles of her shoes, and thus conveyed an obvious sentiment.

To the Right Hon. Maurice FitzGerald, Knight of Kerry.

Merrion Square : 31 Decr. 1826.

My dear Sir,—I feel ashamed that you should deem it necessary to make any excuse for giving me advice. I did hope you knew me better ; and now I assure you that there is no political man from whom I should be more happy to receive counsel, or more grateful for taking the trouble of giving it. I trust I shall hear from you as often as you have anything you deem useful to suggest. After this Preface, which is very sincere, I think I am at liberty to discuss freely the contents of your letter and to tell you that, with all deference to your judgment, I have the misfortune to differ entirely with you. Perhaps it is that I am growing weary of being temperate, moderate, and conciliatory to no one useful Purpose, and without having obtained any one single advantage. These qualities seem now to me to be worse than useless. They promise immunity to our enemies and give no promise of active support to our friends. After all the Established Church, with the millions of acres and pounds, is our great foe, and she may be frightened ; but one may as well endeavour to coax a pound of flesh from a hungry wolf as to conciliate the Church. From our numbers, our combination, and the continued expression of our discontent something may be attained, especially if we ourselves keep within the law and succeed in making the people avoid illegal excesses. If that could be achieved there would be no great difficulty in getting the Catholics in every parish in Ireland to meet for the purpose of Petition on one and the same day ; and where they were so organised by community of sentiment as to meet *thus* simultaneously three or four times and to separate peaceably, there would appear such a union of Physical force with moral sentiment that Mr. Peel would be insane if he continued his opposition.² We *never never*

² This is precisely the influence which Peel avows in his memoirs as irresistibly tending to make

Emancipation a necessity. (*Vide* vol. i. pp. 105-142.)

never got anything by conciliation. Could it be possible to be more conciliatory than we were on the deputation? Yet have we not, in fact, been flung back by our disposition to accede? No, I do solemnly assure you that I have the strongest and *most quiet* conviction that temperateness, moderation, and conciliation are suited only to precipitate our degradation; but that if we want to succeed we must call things by their proper names—speak out boldly, let it be called intemperately, and rouse in Ireland a spirit of *action* which will bring all our People to shew, in a legal manner, their detestation of that truly *English*, and quite *un-Irish* policy which, for the sake of a few worthless statesmen, and many *supernumerary* parsons, would continue the worst possible system of government in Ireland.

We mean to *enforce* a discussion as early as possible. Do you think Lord Eldon likely to pick up the Duke of Clarence? ³

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It will be remembered that the collapse of the Catholic Relief Bill of 1825 was mainly owing to the intemperate action of the then Heir to the Throne, who, with an oath, declared in the House of Lords that he would oppose to death Roman Catholic Emancipation. The Duke of York was then an old man, and he shook in every nerve whilst he uttered these fervid words. 'If the Royal Duke should not become converted from his political errors,' replied O'Connell, 'I am perfectly resigned to the will of God, and shall abide the result with Christian resignation.'

The death of the Duke of York two years later afforded O'Connell an opportunity of making the *amende* for words which had hurt. 'I have read,' he said, 'with indignation, in a London newspaper, that the account of the Duke of York's death would be received with exultation in Ireland. The man who penned this miserable slander prophesied what he wished should come to pass. The Catholics of Ireland exult not at the death of the Duke of York. We war not with the dying or the grave. Our enmities are

³ The Duke of Clarence, when William IV., became a Reformer, to the pious horror of Lord Eldon.

buried there. They expired with the individual who caused them.'

To the Knight of Kerry.

Merrion Square : 15 January, 1827.

My dear Sir,—I received your second letter, and again implore of you to believe that I shall always feel grateful for any suggestion you may favour me with. Nay, I ask you to have the kindness to give me any information or advice that may tend to the settlement of the Great Question—in other words, the settlement of Ireland, in which you have just the same Interest that I have, and are, I am sure, just as anxious to see carried.

I hope you were satisfied with what we did, or rather what we said of the Duke of York. There has not been the least impropriety—nothing of triumph or exultation. If anything, a little too much of flattery, but that, perhaps, was naturally to be expected, whilst compassion for human suffering predominated in its influence over the overflowing kindness of Irish feelings. We are a strange people, perhaps the most sensitive in the world to the kindly and affectionate motives of the heart, but we can be fierce too. And, apropos of that, when I wrote so fiercely on the subject of the necessity of our being *intemperate*, I had in view the continuance of the Eldon and Peel dynasty; but if the rumours afloat—and not discredited here, in quarters where there *ought* to be information—if those rumours be true, and that the Marquis of Lansdowne be about to share power, *believe me* it will, with friends of his description in the Cabinet, be no difficult matter to bring the tone and temper of our proceedings into a key which would banish discord and produce the truest harmony. I have myself the greatest confidence in the integrity and intelligence of the Marquis of Lansdowne. He is a practical man, from whom everything solid and useful may be expected. He is, besides, a man of steady Principle, and will not join any one who will not join with him in some of the Vital measures for securing the *Peace* and *Strength* of the Country.

I mean domestic Peace, and strength of foreign as well as domestic purposes. Should he come into office, I should strongly hope that your political connections and opportunities will enable you, with honour and consistency, to join him. I am sure that the most independent part of your Constituents would be highly pleased with such a junction if sanctioned by your own judgment. In fact I think I may venture to say that the Marquis of Lansdowne would bring with him into office all the support which the Catholics of Ireland and liberal Protestants could give to any administration, and I am convinced that such support would, if aided by ministerial countenance, be of the utmost strength in Ireland. Such an administration would tranquillise the country in one Hour. One would ask with astonishment, 'What has become of the Orange party?' just as at the Restoration it was asked, 'Where are they who dethroned the King?'

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Sir Francis Burdett's motion 'for taking into consideration the laws imposing disabilities on his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects' was, after prolonged debate, finally lost by a majority of four. O'Connell considered this the most signal defeat which had befallen Ireland since the Union.

To Edward Dwyer.

Ennis: Friday.

My dear Friend,—I have just read your letter announcing the Orange triumph and the last sad defeat of Ireland. Another crime has been added to those which England has inflicted on this wretched land; another instance of genuine Reformation bigotry has disgraced the British nation. But a just and good God is looking on, and in his own good time will be his own avenger. I agree with those who totally refuse to despair. We must rally for a new exertion. To address the King cannot be an unwise or disrespectful measure, although it is not one from which I expect much. His Majesty owes a deep debt of gratitude

to Ireland. He asserted his rights over the British oligarchy when he was prince. We, the Catholics, threw down our resentments and flung away our legitimate prejudices to do him honour and make him a king indeed, when in England the popular voice was raised against him, and his person was scarcely safe from violence. Yet during his reign no benefits have hitherto flowed to the Catholic cause. Well, let us hope that the period is not remote when his Majesty will give us cause to rejoice at our fidelity. Some good must come from an address. It is in itself constitutional and legal. But we must not rest our efforts there. We must renew our petitions to the Houses of Parliament. We must have another debate immediately after Easter: we must never let the question rest. The more we exhibit our determination to pursue perseveringly constitutional courses, and the more frequently we exhibit the bigotry of the boasted British nation to the contempt of all the enlightened people of the civilized world, the better. Strong measures should now be resorted to—as strong as are consistent with legal and constitutional limits. A Petition for the Repeal of the Union should be immediately prepared. There are but few patriots among the Irish Protestants, but the few there are would join us in that; or if not, let us petition alone for the repeal of a measure which has increased every evil Ireland before endured, and taken away every prospect of a mitigation of the causes of the poverty and wretchedness of the country.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Once again the tide seemed to turn. The death of the Duke of York was followed by the removal of another obstacle to Catholic Emancipation. Lord Liverpool, who had held the reins of government for fifteen years, now died. After many delays Canning, on April 10, 1827, consented to form a Cabinet. Twelve men composed it, of whom three only were opposed to the Catholic claims. Once more hope burned brightly in Ireland. Canning considered himself an Irishman; ⁴ and the name O'Conaing is one freely inscribed on the national Records. He made no flattering

⁴ He says so in a letter to Scott, published by Lockhart.

promises, it is true, but his views were known to favour a settlement of the great question. Some years previously he had brought in a Bill to enable Catholic peers to sit in the Upper House; and old colleagues left him, repelled by an attitude which they deemed fraught with danger.

To the Knight of Kerry.

22 Feb. 1827.

My dear Sir,—We are here in great affright at the idea of the Duke of Wellington being made Prime Minister. If so, all the horrors of actual massacre⁵ threaten us. That Villain has neither Heart nor Head. It is impossible to describe the execration with which his name is received amongst us. Could you suggest any act of the Catholic Body which might facilitate the views of the Opposition at this moment? And, in particular, could we do anything to forward or support the Marquis of Lansdowne? To him much of our hopes, almost all, are turned. We could have Catholic County Meetings, Addresses to the King, Petitions to Parliament, or anything else that public bodies may do, if you deemed it useful. But, perhaps, our interference may have a contrary effect. Still I do not like a timid policy. I beg your opinion speedily.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Knight of Kerry.

(Confidential.)

Merrion Square: 16 May, 1827.

My dear Sir,—I again heartily thank you for your attention to me *during the crisis*, and I wish now that you should be in full possession of the feelings and opinions of the Catholics in the present position of affairs.

First, we are very bitterly sorrowful at the part Earl

⁵ Lord Lake, during his military rule in Ireland at the disastrous period of '98, acquired for himself the reputation of a butcher. O'Connell seems to have entertained the groundless fear that, because Wellington had been Lake's right-hand man in India, he shared the instincts of

the same military school. Wellesley told Lord Campbell—as recorded in his Life—that his brother Arthur had no 'head' to be Prime Minister. But Wellesley took great credit to himself for having been the first to discover his military talent.

Grey has taken. We do not know how to reconcile that line of conduct with his undoubted anxiety to pacify Ireland.

Secondly, we are all impatient to see the Marquis of Lansdowne and his friends join [and] actually form part of the administration. We do not believe in the reality of a change of men while the Marquis and his friends are supporters only of, and not participators in, the Government.

Thirdly, you may pledge yourself that the Catholic claims can be managed for the proper season if we get in this Cabinet a change of men. If, for example, Gregory⁶ be removed from the Castle—his removal is *indispensable*—the Corporation, controlled as it easily can in the offices in the Police, *all held at will*, and if the Law offices be well filled. It will not do to have Joy Attorney-General, or either of the Orange serjeants promoted. Indeed, indeed they ought to be dismissed at once. Lefroy is an exceedingly poor creature in point of intellect, and Blackburne is excessively overrated. If they were dismissed it would give infinite satisfaction. Really it is not honest to have such a man as Lefroy in office when he has to exercise judicial functions.

I repeat that, if men were changed, it would not be difficult to postpone to the proper season the Emancipation Bill, because the exauguration of the system is so peculiarly attributable to the bad passions of those who have administered it; but it would be really infinitely less obnoxious if mitigated by good and liberal men.

May 18.

I wrote the foregoing pages before I got your letter of the 15th, and I rejoice to think that the period is approaching when the *Provisional Government* will terminate. Believe me that you cannot possibly be of more service this moment to this Country and to the new Ministry than by representing to them the absolute necessity, as well as the extreme facility, of changing the men who have abused power and, above all, patronised abuse in Ireland. The

⁶ Sir Wm. Gregory, the Under-Secretary for Ireland.

Orange faction is already powerless from the mere apprehension of losing Government support; but if the partisans of that foe are continued in power their insolence will be redoubled, and the consequent disappointment of the Catholics will cause a reaction the ultimate result of which cannot but be excessively mischievous. I know this Corporation well, and I would pledge my existence that, with a change of men and a fair prospect of measures, in a reasonable time the Government might send out of Ireland every regiment of the line, horse and foot, and maintain perfect tranquillity with the Police; but, of course, with a Police animated by and conducted on the new system. But really the Government of Peel and Lord Manners⁷ would be more popular and fully as sedative as the new, provided the Trenches continue to rule the Custom House, the Gregorys to *manage* the Castle, the Darlys and Kings to sway the Corporation, and the Joys, Lefroys, and Blackburnes, to top the Profession of the Law, and *promise* the people a succession of partisan Judges. Besides, every one in Ireland knows that the persons to whom I thus allude have nothing to give the Government in return. It will be a pure gratuity to continue them in office. They have nothing of talent or influence of high character to give them importance. They are as infants in the political world, and may be flung aside by a manly and straightforward Ministry with as much facility as a group of children.

I write thus anxiously because, in the first place, it is just impossible I should have any personal motive, and next I have contributed so much to make the Cabinet throw the reins into the hands of our friends, that I feel a species of secondary responsibility for the conduct of the Government. Everybody exclaims, Why is not Plunket Chancellor? Why are the Corporation allowed to nominate bigots for Sheriffs, &c. &c.? I must conclude.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ When Peel filled the post of Irish Secretary, his most active adviser was Lord Chancellor Manners.

To the Knight of Kerry.

Merrion Square : 28 May, 1827.

My dear Sir,—I received your *quieting* letter, and, of course, gave it the most unaffected consideration. But you will recollect that the question does not rest with me. I can easily be *quieted*, but there are the people at large ; there is the Irish nation kept in the miserable state of hope deferred, with the extinguisher of Royal Speeches held over us, and without one single movement in Ireland favorable to an alteration in the system, save only the appointment of Mr. Dogherty.⁸ That certainly gave great satisfaction, but then there is the drawback of Joy, an open and avowed Orangeman, who becomes Attorney-General. Can you blame us for impatience ? You know perfectly well that this country has been governed for the last twenty years by the triumvirate of Lord Manners, Saurin, and Gregory, and they still continue to govern. They brought Ireland to the very verge of a sanguinary struggle. If the system were pursued without hope of alteration for one year more there never yet was so bitter or so bloody a contest in this country, often as it has been stained with blood. And the first step to bring us back to peaceable courses would be to deprive those of power who were the prime movers of Discontent and the most prominent causes of irritation. Indeed, I am quite convinced that, but for the influence which was obtained over the People, they would have sooner rushed into Violence and to their own destruction. The Country remains in a feverish state, and it requires to be soothed by a change of system, which cannot possibly take place without a change of men. The herd of Orangemen would not believe that Gregory could be perfectly impartial between them and the Papists. As to Lord Manners⁹ he is certainly without dis-

⁸ Mr. John Doherty, a relative of Canning, had been returned for Kilkenny pledged to Emancipation. In 1827 he was appointed Solicitor-General. O'Connell and Doherty afterwards became bitter foes. O'Connell's irate feeling—of which ample evidence will be found within the

next few years—may have been partly due to the fact that Doherty owed in some degree his first promotion to O'Connell. This appears from a letter of Lord Duncannon to O'Connell now before me.

⁹ The correspondence of the Knight of Kerry with Wellington

guise, and even the shallowness of his understanding makes him the more dangerous because of the open countenance he gives to every species of 'illiberality.' Again, there is not one of the friends of Ireland—I mean of the patriotic Irish members—in office. The English have got in, the Scotch whigs have also obtained stations, but neither Newport nor Rice, nor you, allow me to add, have been, it would seem, thought of. Lord Plunket appears to be totally forgotten.¹ Ireland most wanted the change, and in Ireland there appears to be none. Why, then, will you blame me for being impatient, especially as the promotion of Joy announces that enmity to the Catholics is no bar, whilst the oblivion of Lord Plunket demonstrates that friendship to our claims is a fatal barrier?

There is another reason which makes me exceedingly anxious to have the Ministry act with decision in Ireland. It is this. They have it in their power to make nine-tenths of the People of Ireland join in petitioning for Emancipation next session. Let liberal Protestants be but once preferred, and, as every other impulse tends that way, you would have a magical change almost instantly. Why? I could myself, with very little aid from Mr. Lamb,² put the Cor-

wood show how O'Connell's wishes gradually worked their way. The severity of O'Connell's sentences on Lord Manners receive support from Madden's *Memoirs of Lady Blessington*; *Forster's Memoirs of Sheel*; *Memoirs of Lord Melbourne*; *The Personal Recollections of Lord Chalmers*; and *Political and Legal Sketches*, by Richard Laing Sheel, afterwards a P.C. and British Minister.

Mr. O'Flanagan, in his *Life of the Lord Chancellor*, while bearing testimony to some good qualities of Lord Manners, admits that he 'politically opposed the religion and aspirations of the Irish people' (vol. II. pp. 288-292. London: Longmans, 1871). During the twenty years that Lord Manners held the Great Seal he exercised vast patronage: all the administrative power of the country was reposed in Orangeism. In 1827

Lord Manners resigned, and Sir A. Hart, an Englishman of liberal views, succeeded. Sheel said that the decisions of Lord Manners drew forth Lord Bessborough's laughter and Lord Eldon's tears; but I find on inquiry that not more than fourteen of his judgments were reversed and seven varied. His mistakes would have been more frequent, according to his biographer O'Flanagan (p. 368) but that he usually had the advantage of the private advice of an eminent Equity lawyer, Mr. Saurin. Fox's *Judges* notices Lord Manners in high terms.

¹ In Trinity Term, 1827, Lord Plunket took his seat as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, vice Neasham, made to resign; but I slightly anticipate.

² Chief Secretary for Ireland, afterwards Lord Melbourne.

poration of Dublin into a total change of System—three or four of the Police offices and at the Paving Board taken from notorious delinquents and given to honest and independent men, a Baronetcy to Alderman McKenny,² and a Knighthood or two would make this Corporation as liberal as ever they were the reverse, and the force of their example would, *with its causes*, soon spread through the other towns. But I weary you.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Knight of Kerry.

Merrion Square; 8 June, 1827.

My dear Sir,—I send you under another cover a letter I got from Dr. Doyle this morning. I send it as Evidence of the State of the Catholic mind in Ireland—a subject which, I think, ought to interest our statesmen more than it seems to do. It appears to me that you would advance this object—I mean the acquaintance with the sentiments of the Catholics—by communicating the substance of Dr. Doyle's letter to our friends in the Cabinet. You will, yourself, perceive by this letter, the very unpleasant state in which I have placed myself by the very action that I have taken in procuring the suspension of our Claims in this Session. It is not pleasant to be reproached with all that has not *been done* for this country, but what signifies my individual suffering? I myself readily admit that it is quite immaterial, but it may serve to excuse me for any uneasiness at the present state of affairs.³

² McKenny received a baronetcy soon after. (See p. 85, *note*.)

¹ The letter from Bishop Doyle, which O'Connell enclosed, may be found in the *Life, Times, and Correspondence of Right Rev. Dr. Doyle*, vol. ii. pp. 80-81. Dublin: Duffy.

³ Mr. Goulburn and J. W. Croker had just been ordered by the House of Commons to bring in three Bills tending to the further apprehension of the Irish Church Establish-

ment—one of them to facilitate the imposition of Minister's Money in tithes and towns corporate. Bishop Doyle concluded his letter in these words: 'With the fate of the unhappy Plunket before our eyes, and Wellesley getting worse and worse; without one symptom of amendment in any department—with Goulburn and Croker called on by a Whig Ministry to legislate for Ireland—with our people continuing to starve

The folly of allowing Lord Manners, Saurin and Gregory to continue their dominion of this wretched Country is not exceeded by its criminality. When the new administration was formed there was at once exhibited a readiness on the part of many—very many of those who heretofore were most intolerant to accede to what was hoped to be *the new order of things*. Why, in Dublin—in the stronghold of Orangeism—the beggarly corporation—I had arranged matters in such a way that if I got any assistance from the new Government there would be at this moment a strong and an *avowed* party in support of Emancipation and liberal measures. Take another instance. The guild of Merchants wished to address Peel, Lord Eldon, &c. They three times attempted to hold a meeting for that purpose, but all their leading men shrunk from the *invidious* task, and there was no chairman to be found to preside. Well, the declaration of war by Lord Manners in the case of Sir Patrick Bellew was⁶ no sooner known than the bigots rallied, and yesterday there was a very numerous meeting and violent partisan addresses. What does Mr. Canning mean to do for Ireland or with Ireland? To leave all the old *warriors* in office! There never yet was a game so completely thrown away as this is. Ireland *could* have been, and may still be, brought to perfect unanimity on the subject of our claims and the support of the new Ministry. I say *perfect* with just such a grain of Irish allowance as would qualify it into an exception so trivial as to be of no consequence whatsoever.

Lord Norbury has been at length *bought off* the Bench

by thousands, are we to bear our sufferings untold, and not only to stay the indignation of our own people, to weaken the sympathy of foreign nations, but even make the Minister think that what some people call hope renders us insensible to neglect, injury, and insult? Croker's *Memoirs* show that he was a friend to Catholic Emancipation.

⁶ On reference to the journals of the day it appears that Lord Chancellor Manners declined to appoint

Sir P. Bellew a magistrate because he was a member of the Catholic Association. The brother of O'Conor Don was refused at the same time and on the same grounds. Bellew (afterwards a peer) belonged to a family which for centuries had been distinguished in Ireland. The chancellor, O'Connell said, had poisoned the entire stream of public justice, setting an example to the magistracy which communicated its baneful influence to the lowest walk of society.

by a most shameful traffic.⁷ What a dolt that man must be—if there be any such—who wonders at the state of Ireland, which has had its Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in the hands of a sanguinary buffoon for more than twenty years, and has its Equity distributed by the irritable, impatient, bigotted and occasionally even between man and man *influenced* Lord Manners. You will perceive that I am writing to you in the strictest confidence, and with a view to show how necessary it is to change the System and how easy it would be to do so. Pray excuse me for being so troublesome, but indeed our indignation is boiling over. What a pitiable fall is that of Lord Plunket.⁸

The worst feature in the entire is the knowledge thus forced on the Irish people of the inveterate hostility of the King and of many of the Royal Family. This is exceedingly dangerous, and ought to have been concealed, but I see that existing circumstances have *forced out* the mischievous truth. Depend on it that Ireland will be lost in spite of all our efforts unless the administration will assist us to alter the system.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Knight of Kerry.

Merrion Square: 24 June, 1827.

My dear Sir,—I am impatient to hear what you think of *the train* in which I have been able to place Catholic affairs. It would have been impossible to do more, and to have attempted it would risk a disturbance. Besides, I could not convince myself that more silence would be useful. How could I expect to convince others? I showed your

⁷ Two years previously O'Connell writes to the Knight of Kerry:— 'Would you take the trouble of asking Mr. Scarlett whether he got a Petition I sent him for the removal of Lord Norbury? It is horrible to have the wretched old man trying cases; and at the criminal side it is shocking beyond expression.' He

had fallen asleep during a trial for murder!

⁸ Plunket had become Master of the Rolls in England with a peerage; though finally he occupied the Irish woolsack, from which, however, he was at last dislodged by his friends the Whigs, in order to make way for Lord Campbell.

last letter to some persons discreetly, and of course at my own suggestion. The effect was right good, and I could now answer for it that Ld. Anglesey would be well received by the Catholics as Lord-Lieutenant if he would take any one occasion to declare publicly that he is *not* our Enemy. I mean by this merely a disclaimer of enmity, even without any pledge whatsoever of friendship. What I said of Lord Anglesea at the Catholic meeting was greatly misrepresented.

I gave the Sheriff Elect of Dublin a letter of Introduction to you.⁹ I would wish that he should find me useful to him through my friends. He is one of those through whom even I could *convict* the Corporation of Dublin. I would, of course, want the assistance of Mr. Lamb, but then the result would be most powerful Irish support to the administration. I told you before, and I repeat, that with an honest Chancellor—who, of course, *ought* to be Plunket—with a neutral Lord-Lieutenant—that is, a *real* neutral, not as 'Mountain Mahony' called it, '*a mutual friend at the other side*'—and with Mr. Lamb, I would forfeit my Head if we did not un-Orange Ireland and make the Protestants content and good, and the Catholics devotedly loyal; for our disposition truly leans to loyalty. The game is in our Hands, and Mr. Roose, the new Sheriff of Dublin, would help us very powerfully to play it. Perhaps I deceive myself, but I have the vanity to believe that I could *manage* this Corporation easily. The Orange faction in Ireland could be made to crumble like a Rope of Sand. It, in fact, *is* a Rope of Sand, but Government patronage has twisted it into a Rope of Steel, and then used it to manacle us poor papists. But let the Government force be taken from the twisting machine and a Rope of Sand Orangeism will be again.

There is a most particular friend of mine—a Mr. Bennett,¹ of this bar—in London looking for a judicial seat in

⁹ Mr. (afterwards Sir) David Roose.

¹ See letter of December 11, 1795. Mr. R. B. Bennett, son of Chief Justice Bennett, has allowed me to read

the entire correspondence between O'Connell and this life-long friend. It is specially full throughout the period that O'Connell corresponded with the Knight of Kerry; but as it

the Colonies. He has hopes of being made Chief Justice of Ceylon. I got Blake to write warmly to Wilmot Horton for him. Doherty wrote at my instance to Mr. Canning. I wrote in the strongest terms I could venture upon to Mr. Brougham. I most anxiously wish that you could speak to Ld. Lansdowne for him. If there be nothing inconsistent with your present relations with the Marquis, to do it will be conferring another obligation on me. I could not be more anxious for my Brother than I am for Mr. Bennett. He has been at all times the decided friend of Civil and Religious Liberty, and his promotion would give the greatest satisfaction to all that part of the Catholic body in Dublin who have been working for Emancipation—that is, the really influential portion of the Catholic Community. I know you will kindly give all the assistance in your power. But allow me to add that it seems to us all excessively strange that all the *bad* men are still continued in office in Ireland, and that neither you nor Rice nor Sir John Newport² are in any official situation. I do not say this because of my individual regard for you, but more especially because your and their elevation would be so honest an earnest of the intention of the Government to substitute friends for enemies, and no longer to patronise bad passions.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.³

reiterates the same points and complaints I have confined my selection to other dates.

² Sir John Newport represented Waterford City from 1802 to 1832. Owing, perhaps, to O'Connell's recommendation, he obtained the post of Comptroller of the Exchequer. On every Irish question raised during his time he spoke with uncompromising patriotism. But he lived to see these services forgotten by Ireland; and Lord Monteaigle, addressing the present writer in 1855, said: 'In visiting Waterford the other day, I was unable to find even a tablet bearing the honoured name of Newport.' Died 1843, ætat. 87.

³ On the following day O'Connell

expresses himself anxious that Mr. Lamb, the Irish Secretary, should be returned for Dublin. 'If Dublin was once won,' he writes, 'the effect on the country would be powerful. The lower classes of Orangemen would feel diverted and would shrink from continuing the contest, and the upper classes of Right to understand perfectly well how the wind blows.' Thus it appears that Lord Melbourne's coalition with O'Connell in 1835 was by no means surprising. Spring Rice complained in 1827 that his correspondence with Lamb had been surreptitiously opened by Orange clerks of the post office, Dublin.

In August, 1827, Canning, after a hard day's work, sat in a draught of air to refresh himself, and contracted pleurisy. Blood-letting was freely employed, and the valuable life, which under modern treatment might have been prolonged, was forfeited.

'We have lost a powerful friend,' said O'Connell; 'the mothers of Irish children have lost a Protector; and the blessings which under his administration we hoped soon to enjoy are now suddenly hurried from us, and shew but like a dim and distant vision. But Ireland must not despair. She never *has* despaired, although the dark current of her History has often furnished occasion for the utter abandonment of Hope; and my heart in melancholy whispers suggests that Canning might have lived longer if his fate had not been bound up with that of our unhappy land.'

The reins which had fallen from Canning's hand were temporarily grasped by Lord Goderich, and in January, 1828, Wellington⁴ formed his famous Administration. Brougham, in a letter now before me, dated July 24, 1828, writes:—

'That a calamity has befallen the Catholic Interest and Ireland generally, cannot, I fear, be doubted. A very friendly Government has been succeeded by one of an exceedingly unfriendly aspect.'

When Wellington, on forming an Administration, threw his brother overboard, Wellesley remarked: 'I trust I have strength enough to swim to the other side.'

Lord Anglesey—an outspoken Waterloo veteran—had once declared that Catholic clamour ought to be met, not with concession, but with concussion. To that speech, and to a vote against Emancipation, he is said to have owed his appointment as Lord Lieutenant. But, no doubt, the Knight of Kerry communicated to Wellington the substance of O'Connell's letter of June 24, 1827, and that between the two considerations his Grace was influenced in making the appointment.

'The Orangemen were filled with ferocious joy, the Catholics with profound despondency, on Anglesey's arrival,'

⁴ That the Wesleys had been Roman Catholics will surprise many. Researches in the Irish Record Office show that Valerian Wesley forfeited Dangan and other large properties, as an 'Irish Papist,' during the rebel-

lion of 1641, while his grandson Gerald Wesley was restored to the estates as an 'innocent Protestant.' He conformed to the State religion to recover his estates.

writes O'Keeffe in his Life of O'Connell. The Tribune's private letter reveals a different feeling. Anglesey went to Ireland, people said, to cut down disaffection at the head of his Hussars; he beat his sword into a reaping-hook before he had been long in Dublin Castle.

To Bishop Doyle.

Merrion Square: 29th December, 1827.

My Lord,—The public papers will have already informed your Lordship of the resolution to hold a meeting for petition in every parish in Ireland on Sunday, the 13th of January.

I should not presume to call your Lordship's particular attention to this measure, or respectfully to solicit your countenance and support in your diocese, if I was not most deeply convinced of its extreme importance and utility. The combination of national action—all Catholic Ireland acting as one man—must necessarily have a powerful effect on the minds of the Ministry and of the entire British nation. A people who can be thus brought to act together, and by one impulse, are too powerful to be neglected and too formidable to be long opposed. Convinced—deeply, *firmly* convinced—of the importance of this measure, I am equally so of the impossibility of succeeding unless we obtain the countenance and support of the Catholic prelates of Ireland.

To you, my Lord, I very respectfully appeal for that support. I hope and respectfully trust that in your diocese no parish will be found deficient in activity and zeal. I intend to publish in the papers the form of a petition for Emancipation, which may be adopted in all places where no individuals may be found able and willing to prepare a proper draft.

I am sorry to trespass thus on your Lordship's most valuable time, but I am so entirely persuaded of the vital utility of the measure of simultaneous meetings to petition, that I venture over again, but in the most respectful manner, to urge on your kind and considerate attention the

propriety of assisting in such manner as you may deem best to attain our object.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Having obtained the sanction of the Bishops, O'Connell's next move was to arouse the interest and zeal of the Parish Priests of Ireland, many of whom had become old, lethargic, and thoroughly at home in their chains.⁵ Mr. Wyse cites a curious instance of this fatal feeling:—

'The pastor of one of the largest parishes in one of the principal towns in Ireland had never been seen in the public promenade. For forty years he had lived in the utmost seclusion from Protestant eyes, shielding himself from persecution under his silence and obscurity. After the concessions of 1793, a friend induced him, for the first time, to visit the rest of the town. He appeared amongst his fellow-citizens as an intruder, and shrank back to his retreat the moment he was allowed. Seldom did he appear on the walk afterwards, and it was always with the averted eyes and faltering step of a slave.'

Sunday, June 15, 1828, had now been fixed for the simultaneous meetings in order to petition the King and the House of Lords. The following, addressed by O'Connell to the Rev. Timothy Sheehan, P.P., Kilcummin, Killarney, is one of the stirring appeals which he sent broadcast through the clergy. He well knew the peculiarities of some men with whom he had to deal; how continental fashions and rural adulation had affected them; and that a profound obsequiousness was no bad way to approach the old alumni of Douay, Salamanca, and Louvain⁶:—

Reverend Sir,— . . . I beg leave respectfully to say that, in our very humble opinion, this measure is calculated at the present crisis to promote 'the best interests of Ireland,' and probably to ensure Emancipation.

I trust your Reverence will excuse me for obtruding this

⁵ Sir Robert Peel, in his *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 213, notices the fact 'that the old Priests are adverse to the meetings.'

⁶ Lady Morgan, in *Florence MacCarthy*, notices the Louis-Quatorze bow of the Irish priests of the old school.

opinion on you. May I venture to hope that you will do me the kindness to believe that I would not take this liberty if I was not deeply convinced of the importance of this communication. Perhaps our fate may depend, for the present at least, on the unanimity with which this measure is now carried into effect. It will afford a glorious proof of the deep interest which the Catholic People of Ireland take in the cause of civil liberty and religious freedom, and at the same time of the peaceable, tranquil, and temperate manner in which the entire of that people can and will evince that anxious interest in the cause of their country.

Allow me again to press on your Reverence's attention this most important measure—a strong Pull, a long Pull, and a Pull all together is always likely to succeed. There never was a period in which an exertion of this kind could be so likely to be useful. If your Reverence should concur in sentiment with me, I am sure you will concur in exertion. I wish I possessed any claims on your confidence to enable me to make an impression on your mind by reason of the deep conviction on mine, that we have our own fate in our own hands, and trust if this meeting shall take place in every Parish in Ireland, and if every Parish shall meet in a peaceable, orderly, and dutiful manner, giving no offence to any person, and not violating the peace or the Law in any respect.

The consequences, I think, will be speedy and compleat Emancipation.

I am bound to add that, as the transmission of Petitions and the publication of resolutions are likely to occasion much expense to the Secretary, it would probably be right, as it certainly appears necessary, to make an effort in all the more wealthy Parishes to make a collection, but not on the day of the Simultaneous Meeting, of Catholic Rent. A very small sum indeed from each Parish would be most amply sufficient for our purposes.

I am, with profound respect, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

CHAPTER V.

Lord Lansdowne and O'Connell—The Hibernian Bank—The Clare Election—John Keogh—The New Daly's Club—Apathy of former Friends—The Catholic Cause formidably opposed—The March to Ballibay—Conciliation tried by rendering Personal Service to Orangemen—Hunt, the English Radical, assails O'Connell—Law Reform begun by O'Connell—Vesey Fitzgerald—O'Connell returned for Clare—George IV. and O'Connell—Brougham—Bishop Doyle—Securities proposed as an adjunct to Emancipation—Difficulties in taking his Seat—A Duel—Villiers Stuart vacates Waterford—Lord George Beresford seeks O'Connell's Help—Pierce Mahony—O'Connell and the Knight of Kerry alienated—Otway Cave—Lord F. L. Gower—The 'Shave-beggars'—Thomas Attwood—Reform.

THE fact has been revealed and deplored by Greville, that in 1831 Lord Lansdowne, then President of the Council, successfully opposed the wish of the whole Cabinet as regards the bestowal of office on O'Connell.¹ The Whig statesman little guessed how cordially and consistently the 'Agitator' had long urged his Lordship's own claims to promotion. The letters of January 15 and February 22, 1827, afford abundant evidence of this generous feeling. A fragment bearing the postmark 'Feb. 27, 1828,' reiterates his praise.

Lord Lansdowne had been Home Secretary from August to December, 1827, the period that Lord Goderich held the helm.

To the Knight of Kerry.

27 February, 1828.

Lord Lansdowne has gone out of office not only with honor unsullied, but with character exalted. He has been steady and consistent and affords *stronger* grounds to hope that the next change—if we live to see it—will place him at the Head of the Government. His *whole party* certainly deserve the public confidence, and amply justify that confi-

¹ *Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria*, vol. i. pp. 8-9. But Greville seems not quite accurate here (see p. 287, *infra*).

dence. The others—the Liberal Tories—are miserable creatures. I am exceedingly glad to find that you do not commit yourself to the Sub-letting Act. It is just the very worst and vilest piece of legislative folly and injustice that ever was promulgated. Sir H. Parnell and Spring Rice have wisely put themselves forward to protect Goulburn from bearing the odium of that Bill. It ought to be called An Act to render it impossible for a labourer to become a farmer, to prevent a farmer from becoming a gentleman, to prevent a gentleman from acquiring Property, to purchase an estate. It is the worst of the Penal Code, and a hypocritical Penal Law to boot.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Among O'Connell's letters to the Knight of Kerry are several in relation to the then recently formed Hibernian Banking Company, an exclusively Catholic Corporation. From one, dated March 28, 1828, it appears that the Knight had been entrusted at this time with a Bill to 'dissolve the Hibernian Bank,' for that would be its result, O'Connell said, and he added, if the Knight could consistently decline giving it his support, such action would be taken as a great personal favour. O'Connell detailed various conveniences which the new Bank gave to the people, and pointed out that it possessed all the 'advantages of Competition as contrasted with Monopoly.'

To the Knight of Kerry.

22 March, 1828.

This great work is a species of practical Emancipation. It emancipates the Catholics of Dublin, and the Liberal Protestants also, from the odious monopoly of the Bank of Ireland. In fact, it is the only useful and practical plan I ever knew the Catholics establish.

Its directors, too, are men as incapable of trick or fraud as either of us.

This Establishment operates in two ways: first, directly by accommodating the Catholics and Liberal Protestants,

who would be rejected by reason of political or religious dislike or difference; and secondly, by inducing the Bank of Ireland to be more liberal and less *restrictive* lest the business should accumulate to the rival Establishment. You could not inflict a deeper injury on the Shareholders at large, or upon the least part of the Dublin commercial population, than by forwarding the Bill I allude to.

The Marquis of Lansdowne is turning out 700 families in Kerry. We shall have bloody work next circuit!

To the Knight of Kerry.

Merrion Square : 29 April, 1828.

My dear Sir,—It has just been suggested to me that those who seek to destroy the Hibernian Bank have asserted that the decided support I gave that Establishment arises from motives of personal interest. It, to be sure, does afflict me to have any person base enough to make any such suggestion, and I throw myself on your kindness to contradict that report should it reach you. I empower you to contradict it in the most direct terms. I solemnly assure you it is totally false. I have, indeed, 32 shares in the Company, and that gives me this interest in the concern that I am quite convinced I should be able to dispose of this stock in a few years if the Company be allowed to proceed in its present course. But other interest I have none, and the circulation of a report that I have, only proves to what falsehood the assailants of the Company are capable of resorting. I wish the discussion could be postponed for another week, as this report has roused me, and I think I could within the week procure strong public support for this Company.

We are in tremulous expectation of the result of the Catholic debate, expecting that the English will give us fresh grounds to hate them. Heaven knows there were enough before. Believe me there is an *under swell* in the Irish people which is much more formidable than any sudden or *showy* exhibition of Irritation. I have no doubt that if

the present system is persevered in for twenty years, it will end in a separation brought about in blood and confiscation.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

So wonderful was the Clare Election in its results that readers will, perhaps, think that I am warranted in deviating from my usual course by inserting here the printed address of O'Connell to the electors. He wrote it *currente calamo* in the office of the *Dublin Evening Post*.

Dublin: June, 1828.

Fellow-Countrymen!—Your county wants a representative.—I respectfully solicit your suffrages, to raise me to that station.

Of my qualification I leave you to judge. The habits of public speaking, and many, many years of public business, render me, perhaps, equally suited with most men to attend to the interest of Ireland in Parliament.

You will be told I am not qualified to be elected: the assertion, my friends, is untrue.—I am qualified to be elected, and to be your representative. It is true that, as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will, take the oaths at present prescribed to members of parliament; but the authority which created these oaths—the parliament—can abrogate them: and I entertain a confident hope that, if you elect me, the most bigotted of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his king and to his country.

The oath at present required by law is, 'That the sacrifice of the mass, and the invocation of the blessed Virgin Mary, and other saints, as now practised in the Church of Rome, are impious and idolatrous.' Of course I will never stain my soul with such an oath: I leave that to my honourable opponent, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. He has often taken that horrible oath; he is ready to take it again, and asks your votes, to enable him so to swear. I would rather be torn limb from limb than take it. Electors of the County

Clare ! choose between me, who abominates that oath, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who has sworn it full twenty times ! Return me to parliament, and it is probable that such blasphemous oath will be abolished for ever. As your representative, I will try the question with the friends in parliament of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. They may send me to prison.—I am ready to go there to promote the cause of the Catholics, and of universal liberty. The discussion which the attempt to exclude your representative from the House of Commons must excite, will create a sensation all over Europe, and produce such a burst of contemptuous indignation against British bigotry in every enlightened country in the world, that the voice of all the great and good in England, Scotland, and Ireland, being joined to the universal shout of the nations of the earth, will overpower every opposition, and render it impossible for Peel and Wellington any longer to close the doors of the constitution against the Catholics of Ireland.

He is the ally and colleague of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel ; he is their partner in power ; they are, you know, the most bitter, persevering, and unmitigated enemies of the Catholics : and after all this, he, the partner of our bitterest and unrelenting enemies, calls himself the friend of the Catholics of Ireland !

Having thus traced a few of the demerits of my Right Honourable Opponent, what shall I say for myself ?

I appeal to my past life for my unremitting and disinterested attachment to the religion and liberties of Catholic Ireland.

If you return me to parliament, I pledge myself to vote for every measure favourable to radical reform in the representative system, so that the House of Commons may truly, as our Catholic ancestors intended it should do, represent all the people.

To vote for the repeal of the Vestry Bill, the Subletting Act, and the present grinding system of Grand Jury Laws.

To vote for the diminution and more equal distribution of the overgrown wealth of the Established Church in

Ireland, so that the surplus may be restored to the sustentation of the poor, the aged, and the infirm.

To vote for every measure of retrenchment and reduction of the national expenditure, so as to relieve the people from the burden of taxation, and to bring the question of the repeal of the Union, at the earliest possible period, before the consideration of the Legislature.

Electors of the County Clare! choose between me and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald; choose between him who has so long cultivated his own interests, and one who seeks only to advance yours; choose between the sworn libeller of the Catholic faith, and one who has devoted his early life to your cause; who has consumed his manhood in a struggle for your liberties, and who has ever lived, and is ready to die for, the integrity, the honour, the purity, of the Catholic faith, and the promotion of Irish freedom and happiness.

Your faithful Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

His opponent was a man wielding territorial influence, who looked on Clare as his own. This was the Right Hon. Vesey FitzGerald, on whose appointment to office by the Tories a new writ became necessary.

Although the truth of Lecky's words cannot be gainsaid, that the victory of Emancipation was won by 'the unaided genius of a single man,' yet the idea of the Clare Election, which so powerfully led to Emancipation, did not originate with O'Connell. I find the following interesting 'mem.' among the papers of P. V. FitzPatrick:—

'Sir David Roose,² late High Sheriff of Dublin, and a Tory in principles, but these were always subordinate to his anxiety for personal objects, and on worthier grounds for O'Connell's progression in influence and power, first conceived the idea of O'Connell's standing for Clare, and P. V. FitzPatrick was the first person to whom he communicated it. Roose in the course of that day suggested

² See letter of June 24, 1827, addressed to the Knight of Kerry. O'Connell always sought to encourage the sympathies which he dis-

cerned in Roose, and bought from him throughout a lengthened period stores of wine at high prices, as the invoices still show.

the movement to the Marquis of Anglesey,³ Lord-Lieutenant. The latter was greatly struck with, and gave it his warmest approbation, enjoining, however, secrecy as to his having been spoken to on the subject. It happened by a remarkable coincidence that FitzPatrick, when a young lad, was frequently taken by his father, so largely trusted and so intimately connected with Catholic politics, to visit John Keogh, of Mount Jerome, who made it a point to impress upon P. V. FitzPatrick his strong opinion that, until the Catholics could effect the return to Parliament of one of their own body, Emancipation would never be achieved. Keogh always pointed to a *Borough*, instancing Drogheda as perhaps the most attainable, as he did not conceive success as to a *County* possible. He impressed upon P. V. F. his views in these words: "John Bull is very stolid and very bigoted. He looks upon Emancipation as meaning liberty to burn him in Smithfield, and hence is ignorantly opposed to the proposition. He is, however, peculiarly jealous of the constitutional privileges of the subject, and if a man, Catholic though he be, shall be returned in due form to Parliament, and then shall be refused the right to take his seat notwithstanding, John Bull will look very accurately to the nature of the impediment, and his attention being then directed for the first time with proper effect to a short clause in the oath of qualification, his constitutional feeling will cause him to assent to a modification of that oath in favour of the *Constituency*, whose chosen repre-

³ It may be said that Lord Anglesey's 'God speed' is not consistent with the tone of his letters in the *Memoirs* of Peel. But FitzPatrick's statement is confirmed by Mr. W. B. MacCabe in a letter now before me. He adds: 'Sir David Roose told me this in 1828, I wrote it down in 1829 in my *Recollections*, which have not yet seen the light, and perhaps never shall.' How the frank old soldier—Anglesey—could play a double part seems inexplicable. All this time rumour assigned to him intense hostility to the Catholic claims, and when the truth

at last became known it was said that the extinguisher had taken fire. Wellington wrote a strange letter to the Primate Curtis, recommending the Catholics to place their question 'in abeyance for a time, and to employ that time diligently in a discussion of its difficulties, which are very great.' Thereupon Lord Anglesey addressed a private letter to Dr. Curtis, urging the Catholics to disregard the Premier's counsel and not to abate one doit in their agitation. Both letters, though private, got into the newspapers, and Anglesey was recalled.

sentative has been prevented from discharging his duty to them by the existence of the clause in question."

'When Sir D. Roose announced to FitzPatrick (in Nassau Street, Dublin, on the morning of Monday, the 22nd June, 1828) the idea that struck him respecting O'Connell *himself* standing for Clare, Keogh's reasoning, and the injunction which he always laid on FitzPatrick to assist in working out his suggestion, presented itself anew and with prophetic force to FitzPatrick's mind. He saw that O'Connell would succeed, and all Keogh's objects be thereby realised; and full of this conviction, raising his hat reverentially at the sacred name, he exclaimed: "GREAT GOD, THE CATHOLICS ARE AT LAST EMANCIPATED!" He flew to O'Connell to communicate Keogh's sagacious views regarding such a contingency as had now visibly arisen; but his first application to O'Connell to allow himself to be put forward made little impression. He gave currency during the day, however, to the idea, and thro' this had it stated in the *Advertiser* of Monday morning. Under the impression that a conscientious duty was imposed upon him by Keogh, FitzPatrick finally, to meet the objection of expense, organised a subscription for the contest, thro' which he realized in ten days TWENTY-EIGHT THOUSAND POUNDS, and we carried the county.

'P. V. F.'

Cork alone contributed 1,000*l.*, which included a subscription of 300*l.* from Jeremiah Murphy. O'Connell remembered this kindness, and eighteen years after is found recommending his son for a Mastership in Chancery.

Daly's Club in connection with the Irish Parliament had pleasant memories. Lever gives a good picture of it in 'The Knight of Gwynne.' There were many men living at this time who had been members of Daly's, but though O'Connell sought to enrol merely one hundred men in founding 'the New Daly's Club,' he failed to get that support. I find, however, one cordial response from Judge Day, the friend of Grattan, and there can be no doubt that O'Connell's efforts led to the formation of the subsequently prosperous Stephen's Green Club.

To John Dalton, B.L.

Merrion Square: 12 July, 1828.

Dear Sir,—I transmit for your consideration the enclosed outline of a New Social Club intended to include all the advantages of the existing clubs with the additional one of adopting the 'Non Exclusion' principle in the selection of its members.

Should you approve of this plan, which under existing circumstances has in this country many recommendations, you will be so good as to make your deposit of £10 without any delay, and to transmit the Bank receipt to me, that you may have the benefit of being an original member.

The purposes of the Club being purely social, it is hoped and intended that it shall include gentlemen of every religious persuasion, and of different shades of political opinion, the only characteristic desired being the non-exclusion principle for any other reason than individual demerit.

The annual subscription will be £5. The admission deposit, twenty guineas.

It is necessary to have 100 subscribers in order to form the Club.

I have, &c., DANIEL O'CONNELL.

John Lawless had exercised some influence in Ulster as conductor of the *Belfast Magazine*; but in oratory lay his chief strength, and he was now deputed by the Catholic Association to preach through the North a dogma then rarely heard in that region. Inspired by the words Civil and Religious Liberty, 25,000 men accompanied his advance on Ballybay. Immense masses of Orangemen sought more than once to provoke a collision, and it needed some tact and good humour to avert what might have led to a general massacre.

To Edward Dwyer.

Cork: 22d August, 1828.

My dear Friend,—I regret exceedingly that the first report from Mr. Lawless, which I perceive was read at the Association, has not appeared in any of the newspapers. The mission of Mr. Lawless is, in my opinion, one of the greatest importance, and the entire Country anxiously ex-

pects the details of his progress. I hope you will be able to prevail on the Liberal papers to give publicity to his reports. Indeed, I am at present the more anxious about him, because of a ludicrous threat which appears to have been thrown out against him at the Derry Dinner. It might, indeed, be a temporary inconvenience to Mr. Lawless to be arrested—but if the Magistrate who should have the audacity to arrest him prove to be a solvent person—a matter of doubt amongst Lord Manners's Justices—Mr. Lawless would be likely to obtain compensation in damages for that arrest, sufficient to console him for the insolence of it. Yes, the times are coming when justice will be had even in the North against an Orange Magistrate. The Act of Parliament under which the arrest is threatened is the Convention Act of 1793. It is really astonishing that even the proverbial stupidity of some Justices of the Peace should be so far imposed on, as to consider for one moment that the mission of Mr. Lawless could come within the Convention Act. It was Lord Norbury who was reported to have ruled at the Naas Assizes 'That one man may alone be guilty of a conspiracy.' I suppose Sir George Hill⁴ may decide that Mr. Lawless is a 'Convention.' But, unlike Lord Norbury, the decision of Sir George will be at his own peril, and the absurdity of it will not screen him from the just vengeance of the law. Mr. Lawless will, I am sure, proceed, holding such threats in thorough contempt—he will actually organize the collection of the Catholic Rent in as many Parishes as possible; he will reconcile parties; abolish secret societies and illegal oaths from amongst the People; soothe and allay the irritation caused by the illegal orgies of the Orangemen; and in short, whilst he promotes constitutional and strictly legal exertions for national freedom, he will, I trust, restore to the North that tranquillity and peace which now so gloriously distinguishes the other three Provinces of Ireland.

I perceive that 'the enemy' has thrown out some taunts against Henry Grattan.⁵ I deem Grattan one of the most

⁴ For some notice of Sir George Hill, see letter of March 4, 1825.

⁵ Henry Grattan, son of the Greater Grattan, represented Dublin

useful of our Irish Representatives—and I beg leave now to give notice of a motion for a Committee of the Association to arrange with the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty, in order to give Grattan a Public Dinner in November. I will make this motion on my return to town. The friends of freedom are superior to the bigots⁶ in morality and talent—we ought to be superior to them even in the details of a public festivity.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Lord Cloncurry.

Darrynane Abbey, Caherciveen : 4th September, 1828.

My dear Lord,—I know you will excuse me for writing to you anything I think useful to Ireland. If you agree with me you will zealously assist, if not, you will forgive the trouble I give you, out of regard for my motives.

The Orange faction is endeavouring to beard the Government ; that seems quite plain. Their ostentatious display of their peerage strength in the Brunswick Club⁷ is manifestly made in order to terrify the Government of Lord Anglesey, and to encourage the friends of bigotry in England, where there are many, and some in the highest station. It would be, indeed, quite idle to conceal from ourselves that the great enemy of the people of Ireland is his most sacred Majesty !! It is but too obvious that the pimps and parasites who surround the throne have an idea that their power is connected with the continuation of abuses in Ireland. They are miserably mistaken, and they would be much more secure by doing us justice ; but it is with the fact we have to do, not with the theory. The fact, then, is most

from 1826 to 1831, and Meath from 1832 to 1851. Died 1859.

⁶ A furtive attempt to shoot O'Connell was made in Boyle at this time, and the Loyalists of Navan are announced as having, on July 12 1828, assembled inside the lawn gate of the Bishop of Meath for the purpose of firing at an effigy of O'Connell. But pleasant squibs were

the sole retort :

O'Connell shot in F.I.G.
Laughs at the Orange Rig,
And having 'scaped from Boyle
scot free
He does not care a f.i.g.

⁷ O'Connell evidently meant Daly's Club as a counterpoise to the Brunswick Club.

unfavorable, and the Saurins and Lefroys are only struggling to give their friends in the Ministry, and men near the throne, a notion that their party in Ireland is strong enough to continue misgovernment with impunity. This is obviously the object of the recent and continued display of Orange aristocracy.

In the meantime, what are our friends doing? Alas! nothing. They, the Orangeists, have their peers coming forward with alacrity, openly and with ostentation. They have their Marquis at their head—more than one marquis. We have scarcely any symptom of sympathy from the higher order of Protestants. There is, indeed, a Duke, who you say, and I believe you, means well; but allow me mournfully, but not reproachfully, to ask you, of what value are his intentions? What a glorious opportunity is he not letting slip to serve Ireland and to exalt himself; but above all things, to serve Ireland. I know that there is a declaration being signed in favor of Emancipation; a paltry declaration it is—just enough to serve as an excuse for *doing* nothing. I want to see some thing *done*. The Orangeists are *doing* and so are the Catholic Association; and we are doing so well that we can afford, after all, to go on without being encumbered with other aid. But, although we can *afford it*, we should much desire not to let things remain as they are.

The assistance of Protestants generates so much good feeling, and such a national communion of sentiment, that I deem it more valuable than Emancipation itself. I tell you frankly what I think ought to be done, but what I fear will not. I think the Duke of Leinster, and every other Protestant peer friendly to the principle of freedom of conscience, should avail themselves at once of the formation of the Brunswick Club, and come forward and join the Catholic Association. There is in Ireland no neutral ground; whatever is not with us is, in reality, against us. The time is come to take an active part in struggling to preserve the country from the bigots.

[The conclusion of this letter has been lost.]

To Michael Staunton.⁸

Darrinane Abbey: 20th Sepr. 1828.

My dear Staunton,—The enclosed reached me by post. I think it will be an act of humanity to give it insertion, heading it with an article to the effect that you got it from me to publish, with an expression of hope that other newspapers would insert it, so as to give the parties interested a chance of learning intelligence of value to them. The deceased was probably a relation to Bradley King, the Orange Alderman. If you think so call on him *from me*, and shew him the enclosed letter, telling him that *we* at least are superior to our enemies' incivility and disposition to do a service.⁹

Henry Hunt, the quondam ultra Loyalist, who in pique, it was said, for fine and imprisonment, for having challenged his commanding officer, became an ultra Radical, now addressed a public letter to O'Connell, accusing him of political tergiversation, and of having been bribed by a silk gown.

The great Agitator in reply let loose a torrent of invective, deeply tinged with personality, but very strong in logic. He called Hunt a 'blockhead,' a 'political fanatic,' told him to wash his hands, and ended with 'Most sublime vendor of blackball, adieu.'¹

Hunt retorted in a second letter addressed to 'The Travelling Member of Parliament for Clare.'

The head and front of O'Connell's offending was that he had prepared a substitute for Radical Reform which Hunt scouted, just as a 'humpbacked rotten recruit would be if offered as a substitute for a good man already enlisted.' O'Connell had called for universal suffrage, biennial Parliaments, voting by ballot, and Law Reform. This violent controversy raged for some weeks and filled many columns.²

⁸ An influential journalist.

⁹ Staunton, instead of publishing the letter, waited on Sir Abraham Bradley King, who seems to have been pecuniarily interested in its contents. This was probably the origin of that feeling of gratitude towards O'Connell which King subsequently avowed. See letters of

July 19 and August 11, 1832.

¹ 'Hunt's Blacking' was widely advertised throughout the country.

² It is to Hunt's credit that he showed no resentment towards O'Connell, for among the papers of the latter I find several letters from Hunt, until his death in 1835.

To Michael Staunton.

September 22nd, 1828.

I have seen my letter to Hunt and am greatly obliged to you for your attention to it. It is the best printer's job I ever saw. There are no white snails in it. I wrote that letter not for Hunt but for the dormant reformers in England, Bentham, Bowring, &c. &c. The Law Reform is now my grand object. You should give it *more* lifts. Everybody should help to get rid of the present most vexatious, expensive, cabalistic and unintelligible System of law proceedings. It is a disgrace to civilized Society to have Scoundrel Judges acting most despotically over lives and fortunes without the possibility of control or punishment. I think I do not exaggerate when I say that no man since the days of 'the Sainted Alfred' was ever half as useful as I shall be if I can abolish the present nefarious and abominable System, and introduce a code of Common Sense both in its mode of proceeding and in its rules and enactments.³ Help me to do this as you have already helped me to emancipate the Catholics. The which we have done, for it is done.

Yours always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It was indeed done, but how? The Act of Emancipation did not pass until April, 1829. Sir Robert Peel declares in his 'Memoirs' that the election of O'Connell for Clare proved the turning-point of the Catholic question.

To Lord Cloncurry.

Darrinane Abbey : 24th Sept. 1828.

My dear Lord,—I am not going to inflict another long letter upon you; but since I wrote and sent off my last letter, I saw a speech of Sheil's at the Association, in which

³ O'Connell has not hitherto received the credit to which he is entitled for his labours in this line. A great deal has been heard of the triumphs achieved in science and

art for the last fifty years, but surely there is one department of which the Victorian era should be specially proud—the matter of Law Reform.

he calls on the Duke,⁴ Lord Charlemont, and on you by name, to join us for Ireland. I wish to clear from your mind all suspicion that he and I are thus acting in conjunction. I do assure you, solemnly, we *are not*; and his having concurred with me is only another evidence of the deep conviction the Catholics now entertain that they are either opposed or deserted by the Irish Protestants.⁵ This is to me a most painful subject. Why should I not grieve, and grieve to my heart's core, when I see Lord Rossmore active and Lord Cloncurry dormant?—when I see Lord Rossmore the most popular of the Irish peerage, and the Duke of Leinster the least so? It is vain to accuse the people of rash judgments. They know their friends, not from the wishes and intentions of those friends, but from their actions and exertions. It would be easy, indeed, for the Duke to resume his natural station. He would be received with the loudest acclaim. He is, however, in principle, or from want of thought, a Unionist; and the time is come when every honest and sensible Irishman should be preparing to compel the Repeal of that measure. But *we* must do this *alone*. Protestant assistance will be given us when the difficulties are over, and that success is approaching.

I do not ask you for a declaration of your concurrence in the opinion that Protestant patriotism in Ireland is at the lowest ebb. You would have long since done much for Ireland if you could have found Protestant co-operators. This defection is the more to be regretted, because it leaves so much alive the religious prejudices which have been so long the destruction of this wretched country. For my part, the only sensation which remains in my mind is that which creates the determination to exert myself *doubly* for 'Old Ireland.'

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It was thought that O'Connell, being a Catholic, could

⁴ The Duke of Leinster.

⁵ The powerful Orange organisa-

tion known as the Brunswick Club had its birth in 1828 (see p. 162).

not possibly be returned to Parliament. No member of that Church had been elected since 1688. My friend Colonel Adamson was present at the Clare Election, and heard the following dialogue. Sir Edward O'Brien proposed the Right Hon. Vesey Fitzgerald. 'I thank you, sir, in his name,' said O'Connell, raising his hat. 'What! are you going to take his name?' replied O'Brien dryly. 'No, I am going to take his place,' was the rejoinder. The tug of war at last came. Vesey Fitzgerald was utterly routed. A hurried letter to Peel announces the result. 'All the great interests broke down,' he writes, 'and the desertion has been universal. Such a scene as we have had! Such a tremendous prospect as it opens to us!' Years after Peel admits that he was perfectly overwhelmed by it. The victory was accomplished by the Forty Shilling Freeholders, who, it will be remembered, carried Waterford in 1826.

Encouraged by his own success for Clare, O'Connell now urged the importance of a more vigorous parliamentary representation and policy. He declared that Messrs. Martin and Daly⁶ should not be re-elected for Galway unless they were prepared to swallow certain pledges; and he branded 'as crawling Cawtholics' some lukewarm local magnates. Mr. Blake Foster retorted upon O'Connell, beginning, 'Your letter of the 15th inst. *lies* before me.' The end of the matter was that O'Connell carried his point.

To Edward Dwyer.

Darrinane Abbey : 29th September, 1828.

My dear Friend,—I perceive that the *Connaught Journal* contains a letter from the Hon. Thomas Ffrench, stating that Mr. Martin was ready to give 'the pledges' required by the Association. I deem it right to request you will submit to that patriotic body my sentiments upon that subject. I consider this the more necessary, because I had already used my humble influence to provoke hostile measures against Mr. Martin, when I believed that he had shewn disrespect to the decision of the Catholic Association of Ireland. My hostility to Mr. Martin was by no means personal; on the contrary, he is a gentleman for whom

⁶ Mr. Daly became Lord Dunsandle.

I entertain personal regard, and would not interfere, directly or indirectly, on the subject of his election further than to insist on 'the pledges.' I would, therefore, respectfully suggest to the Association the propriety of making a direct call on Mr. Martin to give 'the pledges.' They are four for his county—namely, the one against supporting this Administration until Emancipation comes; the second, in favor of liberty of conscience; the third, in favour of Parliamentary Reform; and the fourth, to assist in liberating the town of Galway. When Martin shall have given these pledges, I beg leave to offer my advice that all hostility to him should cease.⁷

I was determined to have gone to Ballinasloe, in order to endeavour to do something towards arraying the Association's strength in Galway against Martin. That appears now to be quite unnecessary. I will, therefore, cling a little longer to my native mountains, the more especially as my sober judgment is, that the Catholic Association ought not to interfere unnecessarily in the interior politics of counties, or throw its weight into the scale against any gentleman who shall take and adhere to 'the pledges.' We are not the partizans of individual men, but the public advocates of public principle.

So much for Galway. In the other Counties I am determined to make an individual canvass against every candidate who shall refuse 'the pledges.' If we can command, and I think we shall be able to command, from sixty to seventy of the Irish members, in direct hostility to the Wellington-Peel Administration, there can be little doubt that the question will be settled, and Irishmen of all classes left disengaged from religious dissension, to attend to the pressing wants and urgent wishes of the universal People of Ireland.

I have seen in the papers a letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Kenyon, in which his sanctimonious Grace condescends to notice me in language more suited to

⁷ Dick Martin failed to give these pledges. He resigned, and James Staunton Lambert took his place.

the meridian of Billingsgate than to courtly circles. I am not a little pleased with his extreme scurrility, as it affords me the opportunity of a civil reply. I will publish that reply shortly after my return to Dublin. It is a fortunate occasion to demonstrate to the people of England the turpitude and moral debasement of that titled crew of boroughmongering swindlers, who defraud the People of their right of representation—who plunder the public purse—and then, with these proofs of knavery complete upon them, add blasphemy to the entire, by endeavouring to make the cause of their peculating avarice the cause of religion and of God. What a beautiful Protestant Constitution it is in which the Duke of Newcastle has no less than twelve or fourteen nominees in the Honorable House, although it is the declared maxim of that Constitution that no Peer shall, in any manner, interfere with the election of members of the House of Commons!

I think I will be able in that reply to demonstrate to the people of England the almost inevitable connexion that exists between political depravity and religious hypocrisy. This I think I will bring home to the noble Duke.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Bishop Doyle.

4th February, 1829.

My dear and respected Lord,—We are ardently desirous of Emancipation, but we would not attain it by any species of condition which could in any, even the remotest, degree infringe on the discipline of the Catholic Church in Ireland, or upon its independence of the state or of temporal authority.⁸ This being the determination of the Catholic Association, I venture to request a continuance of your Lordship's countenance and protection. The reports about an Emancipation Bill are true. I believe the Clare contest has greatly contributed to this result. If so, the blessing you bestowed on its infancy has prospered. If I get into

⁸ *Vide* letter of December 18, 1825, and the explanation that follows.

the House, Catholic Education will have an unremitting and sincere advocate. I refer you to the *Register* of Saturday for my law argument.

With the sincerest and most affectionate respect and veneration, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The hostility of George IV. had long been an obstacle to the settlement of the Catholic question. The Duke of Wellington found him in tears when his Grace entered the Royal closet to announce concession as inevitable. Mr. John O'Connell states that personal antipathy to his father influenced the King's views. After the measure of Emancipation had been brought forward in 1829, O'Connell attended the King's levee. When, after much pushing and squeezing, he reached the door of the Throne Room, and had his name announced, he saw the King's lips moving as he advanced, and for a moment thought the words, whatever they might be, were addressed to him, the King looking intently at him while speaking. However, their sound not having reached him, and no further sign being made, Mr. O'Connell made his bow, and backed out, thinking no more of the occurrence at the time. But weeks after he learned from the Duke of Norfolk that the words used by 'the first gentleman in Europe' were, 'D—n the fellow.' This was cruel, for when the King visited Ireland on a mission of peace in 1821, O'Connell placed a laurel crown on his head.

To James Sugrue.

March 3rd, 1829.

My dear Friend,—I could not get a moment till now on my way down to the House of Commons, where the Committee is to be selected, to give you a sketch of what passed between Brougham and me this day.

Brougham had about an hour's conversation with me; his object to convince me that we should accede to a freehold wing if it shall be proposed. He put his arguments as strongly as possible upon the expediency of not throwing out the Relief Bill by opposing the freehold wing, if—mark, as yet it is *if*—that measure shall be proposed.⁹

⁹ The disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders.

I need not tell you that I availed myself of that opportunity of urging every argument against any such measure. I declared my perpetual and unconquerable hostility to it; I showed that emancipation, accompanied by that wing, would rather irritate than assuage; I showed him that the people would get into worse hands than ours. In short, he left me convinced that it was the duty of the Whigs to take as decisive a part as possible in preventing the Ministry from bringing in such a wing. So stands the matter at present.

It was *curious* that Brougham should come to me the very day—the morning of the day—on which my committee was and is to be formed.

Perhaps it was accident, but certainly it was just the day when it was most likely that I should wish to be in favour with the men who might form that committee. In haste,

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The committee is just struck.¹ I take it to be favourable. Lord William Russell² is chairman. Almost all voted for the Catholics. An excellent committee.

To Bishop Doyle.

19 Bury Street, St. James's :
6th March, 1829.

My dear and respected Lord,—I use another's frank that this may be as much private as *you* please. Look—if you will do so at my request—at the wings to the new Bill. Give me advice and assistance on this subject. It is a critical moment. I desire to do right. I have already exerted myself against the freehold wing here; but I believe that the Bills, as prepared by the Minister, will be carried. The Monastic Bill is an absurdity, and I think I will easily *supersede* it. But this is a moment of great

¹ Probably to decide whether O'Connell might be heard at the Bar of the House, and there urge his claims to take his seat for Clare. It

was also a question whether a new writ should issue.

² Murdered in 1840 by Courvoisier, his valet.

value, and advice and assistance are now absolutely essential.

I shall long to hear from you on these points. At all events, let me know your opinion on the state of Ireland at this moment. Tell me anything you think may be useful.

I long to be in the House to uphold the honor and character of our country and creed. But at the present moment I only write for advice.

To James Sugrue.

19 Bury St., St. James's, London :
6th March, 1829.

My dear Friend,—The Committee have unanimously decided in my favor. Peel's bill for Emancipation is good—very good; frank, direct, complete; no veto, no control, no payment of the clergy.

I always said that when they came to emancipate they would not care a bulrush about those vetoistical arrangements which so many paltry Catholics from time to time pressed on me as being useful to emancipation.

The second Bill is to prevent the extension of monastic institutions, and to prevent the Catholic Bishops being called lords. I will stake my existence that I will run a coach-and-six three times told through this Act.

The third Bill is the freehold wing somewhat modified—that is, reduced to £10 qualification. This *must be opposed in every shape and form*. I will write, and transmit to-morrow to Ireland, an address on this subject.

There should be meetings everywhere to petition against it; if possible, the Protestants should be urged to join with the Catholics in opposing it. We met this day, as usual, at the Thatched House Tavern. The Whigs were in conclave at Sir Francis Burdett's. I moved a Resolution calling on them to oppose the freehold wing at all hazards, and had it transmitted to them by Mr. O'Gorman; I understand, however, that they have agreed to support it!!!

Every honest man should join in petitioning on this point without delay. Urge this in every manner you can.

Let St. Audeon's³ rally. But let them confine their exertions to the freehold wing until the clergy pronounce on the other two clauses. Perhaps an application should be made on these clauses to the clergy; but I only fear the freehold wing.

Ever, &c.,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Knight of Kerry.

19 Bury Street: 10 Mar. 1829.

My dear Sir,—The words in the Statute of the 30th Ch. 2 Stat. 2, C. 1 (indeed the only C) are: 'Any person that now is or hereafter shall be a member of the House of Commons.' You see, therefore, that the Precedent is in my favor, so adopting any other form of words must be for the sole purpose of excluding me.

Faithfully, &c.,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

One of the 'wings' with which Ministers provided the Bill of Emancipation, in order to assist it in its progress, aimed at the suppression of the monastic orders in Ireland. They were filled with terror on the first flutter of this ill-omened 'wing.' During a previous century the same price had been set on the head of a friar as on that of a wolf, and now they besought Bishop Doyle, who had been himself an Augustinian, to use his known influence in high quarters to try and avert their threatened fate.

In reply he urged them to confide in God, who was preparing relief, he hoped, and not affliction, for their long-suffering country. 'It is in Him we should place all our trust, and not in princes and in the sons of men, in whom there is no health or safety.' But some days later he urged the monastic orders of Ireland to petition the Legislature, for were they not British subjects without crime? They should assert their innocence, and not hide a guiltless head.⁴ They duly made sign, and the Bill for their doom became a dead letter, as O'Connell foresaw.

³ One of the many parishes of Dublin whose Catholic inhabitants were banded in organisation.

⁴ See *Life and Correspondence of Bishop Doyle*, vol. ii. pp. 116-117; *ibid.* p. 122 *et seq.*

To James Sugrue.

19 Bury St., St. James's, London :
11th March, 1829.

My dear Friend,—By the time that this reaches you, the Association Suppression Act⁵—the Lying Act—the worse than Algerine Act, will be the law of the land. How long it will continue so is another question. I shall not be in the House one fortnight when I will apply for its repeal.

How mistaken men are who suppose that the history of the world will be over as soon as we are emancipated! Oh! *that* will be the time to *commence* the struggle for popular rights.

But to the point: as the law stands, the Finance Committee of the Association can receive no more money; they can sit, however, for making payments and investigating accounts. As to the future, my advice is, that the Catholic rooms should be kept up by a subscription of from five to ten shillings by each individual, to pay current expenses of newspapers, coals, candles, clerks, &c.

It will serve as a nucleus for talking over Catholic and Irish affairs. Call it the Catholic Reading-rooms. A few months will enable us to do better, but in the meantime a rallying point of this kind is wanting, and a reading-room is just the very best you can have.

Let me press the necessity of having such an establishment, and put my name, and my sons', Maurice, Morgan, John, and Dan, as original subscribers. Let us attempt to keep it on foot for some months at least, if we can get but ten subscribers. There is no danger of the Lying Act affecting us.

So much for details—now for politics. I am exceedingly sorry that the Irish forty shilling freeholders are likely not to get any support in this country. You know already that we sent a Resolution to the Whigs calling upon

⁵ The King's Speech in February, 1829, proclaimed the Catholic Association as 'a body dangerous to

the public peace,' and its suppression was coincident with the Act of Emancipation.

them to resist the Disfranchisement Bill at all hazards. It was I who drew it up, and Purcell O'Gorman took it to Sir Francis Burdett's when they were all assembled. Yet Brougham and all the party gave in. The Opposition, to a man, will vote for it; it almost drives me to despair on this subject.⁶

I sent Lawless to stir Hunt to get up some English opposition. I begged of O'Gorman Mahon to call upon him this day, and I will also go myself, but I expect nothing. Lawless's expedition has failed—totally failed; Hunt has got *no following*. I was until now convinced that the Radicals were in some power—they are *not*; they are numerous, but they have no leaders, no system, no confidence in either Henry Hunt or William Cobbett—not the least—not the least.

This is the case with the reformers generally; they are powerless by reason of the people who considered themselves leaders, but who are despicable both from their characters and their vile jealousies and ill-temper.

It is right that the friends of freedom in Ireland, or at least those in Dublin, should know how little assistance they can expect to receive for the forty shilling freeholders, from any portion of the English Members of Parliament whatever—not the least.

You will have seen by the Duke of Wellington's speech last night in the Lords, that he is determined to carry the Bill through both Houses rapidly.

The clause against the Catholic Bishops taking a denomination by diocese is confined to their own acts, and does not prevent others from calling them by any denomination they please.

It is one of the most foolish and most abortive clauses ever invented. The clause against the monastic orders is equally so; I would ride a troop of horse three times through it; and you will observe that no person belonging

⁶ O'Connell has often been condemned for sanctioning the disfranchisement of men whose spirited

action had returned himself for Clare. But, judging by these letters, he strongly opposed the sacrifice.

to these orders can be prosecuted before any magistrate, or by any private person. The prosecution must be in the Court of Exchequer only, and by the Attorney-General alone.

The Emancipation Bill is an excellent one in every respect—aye, in every respect; for although it seems to exclude me, yet, in point of fact, I wish it were passed in its present form.

The freehold wing is as little objectionable in its details as such a Bill can possibly be. It will make the right of voting clear and distinct; its only evil is the increase of the qualification.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To James Sugrue.

London: 12th March, 1829.

My dear Friend,—The Irish forty shilling freeholders have no friends amongst the English members; the Whigs and all are against them. Even Lord Grey declares he will not oppose the Disfranchisement Bill. This is cruel—very cruel.

Our petition will be presented this day against the disfranchising wing; and we must have many petitions from Ireland. We must put on record our decided hostility to it in every shape and form, so as to enable us hereafter, *and soon*, to do battle in favor of a restoration of this right.

I deem it my duty to give this information, that the gentlemen, having early notice, may act accordingly.

I beg now, as a member of the Finance Committee of the Catholic Association, to make a motion. I hope that I shall be allowed to make *one*—it shall be the only one. I am quite serious.

I wish to move that a sum of one hundred guineas be transmitted to Mr. Secretary O'Gorman to defray his expenses in London. I implore of you, my good friend, to canvass for me on this motion.

Mrs. O'Gorman is with him ; and as he is not rich, we should certainly prevent his being at any expense on his own account. Before the Committee meet, show this letter to Rev. Wm. L'Estrange,⁷ &c. I feel deeply anxious to pay O'Gorman this mark of my personal attention ; and if the Emancipation Bill pass, I trust Government may be induced to pay the Catholic body the compliment of making a provision for him, by giving him such an office as he is well suited to fill, and as would increase his comforts.

Do not show this letter to anyone but to those who will feel its confidential and delicate nature.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To the Rev. W. A. O'Meara, O.S.F.*⁸

(Confidential.)

19 Bury Street, St. James's,
18th March, 1829.

Rev. and dear Sir,—I am standing counsel for the friars, so that you owe me no apology, nor any thanks for attending to any affair of yours. My fee is paid by one moment of recollection of me occasionally in the Holy Sacrifice.

I have the happiness to tell you the proposed law is one which has been well described as a class by the celebrated jurist Bentham in one word, *unexecutable*—that is, that can never be executed. This is literally one of those laws. It is insolent enough in its pretensions. It will be, and must be, totally inefficient in practice, for these reasons :—

1st. There is no power at all given to magistrates to interfere in this subject, nor any jurisdiction whatsoever given to magistrates in that respect.

2ndly. No private person can prosecute any friar or monk ; nobody can do it but the Attorney-General, so that you are thus free from private malice.

3rdly. The person prosecuted—that is, if any friar or

⁷ A Carmelite friar, the spiritual adviser of O'Connell.

⁸ Order of St. Francis.

monk be prosecuted—is not bound to disclose anything, or to say one word, but simply to allow his Attorney to plead *nil debet* to the information.

Thus, you see, nobody will be obliged to accuse himself.

This will put the prosecutor on his proofs.

Now, 4thly. The prosecutor will have nobody to prove his case, because, mark, there is a penalty on all persons assisting at the taking of the vows; therefore, if any of these persons be examined as witnesses, they can, with perfect safety, object to give evidence, and totally refuse lest they should convict themselves.

Thus, you see, that it is almost impossible any prosecution should be instituted at all; and it is quite impossible that any prosecution should be successful.

Besides, the existing class of friars are all legalised. My advice, therefore, decidedly is, that the friars should keep quiet. Let this Act take its course, recollecting, also, that you will have Catholic members in Parliament before the time comes to give these laws any effect, even in point of form.

Go on with your building and prosper.

Be so good as to put down my name for £50.

I will give it to you when I arrive in Cork.

Regretting I cannot afford to give more, I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Mr. Peel introduced his Bill for Catholic Emancipation in the House of Commons on March 10. The second reading took place eight days later, and the Act received the Royal assent on April 13.

To James Sugrue.

The first day of Freedom!
14th April, 1829.

My dear Friend,—I cannot allow this day to pass without expressing my congratulations to the honest men of Burgh Quay⁹ on the subject of the Relief Bill.

It is one of the greatest triumphs recorded in history—a

⁹ The Catholic Association met at Burgh Quay.

bloodless revolution more extensive in its operation than any other political change that could take place. I say *political* to contrast it with *social* changes which might break to pieces the framework of society.

This is a good beginning, and now, if I can get Catholics and Protestants to join, something solid and substantial may be done for all.

It is clear that, without gross mismanagement, it will be impossible to allow misgovernment any longer in Ireland. It will not be my fault if there be not a 'Society' for the Improvement of Ireland,' or something else of that description, to watch over the rising liberties of Ireland.

I am busily making my arrangements respecting my own seat. As soon as they are complete you shall hear from me.

I reckon with confidence on being in the House on the 28th instant, the day to which the adjournment is to take place. I think my right now perfectly clear and beyond any reasonable doubt.

Wish all and every one of 'the Order of Liberators'² joy in my name. Let us not show any insolence of triumph, but I confess to you, if I were in Dublin, I should like to laugh at the Corporators.

I am writing a congratulatory address to the people. It will appear, I hope, on Easter Monday in Dublin.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To N. Purcell O'Gorman.

Bury St. : 24th Apl. 1829.

My dear Purcell,—The enclosed arrived for you yesterday. In sending it to you I avail myself of the opportunity of giving you again my most solemn pledge that I will never lose sight of your claims on that situation and station to which the only accredited and most faithful officer of the

¹ An association under this name was duly formed, and continued its sittings until the year 1835. (*Vide*

Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry.)

² See letter of Sept. 2, 1826.

Catholics of Ireland is entitled as of right. I will redeem this pledge faithfully and expeditiously.

Ever, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To James Sugrue.

12 Bury St., London : April 30th, 1829.

My dear James,—I am making my arrangements for my seat. I suppose you will hear of me 'as of,' in the phrase of the lawyers, this day week. If Mr. Wynne and the tail of the Grenvilles behave well to me I am sure to succeed.

To-morrow I shall have digested my new letter. It will contain my view of the subject, and my, I trust, convincing arguments in favour of my right to take my seat. If Lord Nugent helps me, as I hope he will, my success is not doubtful.

You will see the absolute necessity of not allowing these names or any communication from me to get into print. But the Irish people may be cheered by the prospect of my taking my seat, and being thus enabled to work for them.

I heard that the Duke of Wellington is determined not to increase the currency but to resort to an income tax. This is the last *private* report, and is believed by many. Income from the funds would, of course, come under such a tax. The Subletting Act³ will be materially changed this session. Of this I am assured, and I hope the assurance will be realised.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To James Sugrue.

19 Bury Street, London : May 1st, 1829.

My dear James,— . . . I spent all day working at my case for the House of Commons. I have every hope that this day week will see me at my post in the House.

³ See Lord Melbourne's letters to Bishop Doyle in 1831 touching this Act, *Life of Dr. Doyle*, vol. ii. p. 269 *et seq.*

I intend to take an *immediate* active part in the proceedings. I need not say to you how impatient I am to be useful.

Every hour increases the favorable accounts (or at least *reports*) of the intention of the Ministry to allow me to take my seat quietly. And my present object is simply to make such a case in point as will render it impossible for Mr. Sugden or anybody else to give me effectual opposition.

Your obliged and affectionate,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Knight of Kerry.

London, 19 Bury Street : 12 May, 1829.

My dear Sir,—Will you be so good as to communicate with the Speaker for me on the subject of my going down to take my seat. I write that he should know; I do not mean to take him by surprise. I will look for you this day at Brooks's. Indeed, if I had not to do with a Manners Sutton, I should expect little difficulty. But I have too melancholy an experience of that family to expect anything of impartiality or discrimination of judgment from any of them. Lord Manners was a great practical enemy of mine,⁴ and he injured me too much not to hate me. However, I am a good deal indifferent on the matter. I know that I have demonstrated my right, and that it will be understood and felt in Ireland. Indeed, no rational man who will take the trouble to consider can doubt my right. I wish much to find you at leisure.

Your obliged,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To James Sugrue.

Bury St. : May 13th, 1829.

My dear James,—All appears well: my last letter has had great success, simply because it is unanswerable. The

⁴ Some collisions in Court between O'Connell and Lord Manners are noticed in O'Flanagan's *Lives of*

the Chancellors of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 366. (London: Longmans.)

law is with me in all its bearings, and as yet I have every reason to think that the opposition to me, if any, will be feeble. In forty-eight hours I shall know more.

I was this day at the King's Bench, at half-past nine, and took the new oath. So far I have *progressed*, as the Americans say. I am now certain of getting into the House—that is, *as far as the table*. How much beyond that I know not. I will then call for the new oath, and if it be administered, then the contest is over. If they refuse to administer it, I will take my seat without it, and put upon others to make any motion they may please.

Since I wrote the foregoing paragraph I have ascertained that the Government declare positively that they will not make it a *Government* question, nor give me any *Government* opposition.

I think, therefore, that my prospects are the very fairest; but one must not be too sure of anything to come. . . .

Among some jottings placed in my hands by the late Mr. Rickard O'Connell, B.L., I find the following memorandum of a remarkable incident:—

'Though elected in '28, the *Liberator* never claimed to sit in virtue of that election until after the passing of the Emancipation Act, which received the Royal assent April 13, 1829. A few days after that a motion was made by Sir Francis Burdett that Mr. O'Connell, having been returned member for Clare, he be now admitted to take his seat on taking the oath provided by the Emancipation Act. After two nights' debate, a majority decided that O'Connell, having been elected before the passing of the Act, could not take his seat unless he took the oath obligatory with all members at the time. And a motion was carried that he should attend the next evening, and that the clerk was to tender that oath to him at the table of the House. I was present, and anyone who witnessed the scene can never forget it. The excitement was intense; breathless silence prevailed in that crowded assembly when he was introduced by Sir F. Burdett and Lord Duncannon. The Speaker then informed him of the resolution of the House on the previous night—that he could not take his seat unless he took the

oath prescribed at the time he was elected. The Liberator then said, "May I ask to see the oath?" The clerk was directed to hand him the oath, which was printed on a large card. O'Connell put on his spectacles and perused the oath with deepest attention. One would suppose he had never seen the oath before; during the few minutes he was so perusing it the smallest pin could be heard drop. He then said, "I see in this oath one assertion as to a matter of fact which I *know* to be false. I see in it another assertion as to a matter of opinion which I *believe* to be untrue. I therefore refuse to take that oath," and, with an expression of the most profound contempt, he flung the card from him on the table of the House. The House was literally "*struck of a heap*." No other phrase that I know of but that quaint old-fashioned one can accurately describe the feeling of amazement that pervaded Parliament for some minutes after the card was thus contemptuously flung on the table. The Speaker then said: "The hon. and learned gentleman, having refused to take the oath, will please retire below the bar," and the Liberator, again leaning on Burdett and Duncannon, came below the bar and sat near me under the gallery. In the debate that ensued the speakers on all sides paid him the highest compliments, but it ended in the issuing of a new writ for Clare. The words I give above are the *ipsissima verba*—the precise syllables used by him on that memorable occasion—and I never saw them accurately given yet in any account of the transaction.

'The language attributed to him by Mr. Wendell Phillips in his lecture, however suited it may be to an American audience, would certainly have been out of place in the British Senate, and the Liberator would never think of using such language. There is an error in another part of the lecture. He states that O'Connell was the first Catholic who sat in St. Stephen's for 700 years; there were none but Catholics in Parliament then, and even so late as James II. there were many Catholics in both Houses.'

To James Sugrue.

Bury St., London: May 14th, 1829.

My dear Friend,—The hour of combat approaches. At half-past three to-morrow the question is to be tried.

I have great declarations of support from various quarters; Brougham, Burdett, Lord Althorp, Baines, and many, very many other great names, are active to assist me. I repeat, that if the Government does not take a very decided part against me, I am quite safe. It is admitted on all hands that I have proved my right.

Have you heard of the conduct of the English Catholics towards me? They have a club here called the 'Cis-Alpine,' a bad name, you will say. They had been much divided amongst themselves, and were now about all to reunite. I agreed to be proposed into it, when, behold! they met the day before yesterday and *black-beaned* me.

However, I believe it has knocked up the club, as Howard of Corby and several others at once declared that they would never again come near it.

Mr. Blount has behaved exceedingly well on this occasion; no man could behave better. I believe there are many of them highly indignant at the conduct of the rest; and, at all events, I heartily forgive them all. But it was a strange thing of them to do; it was a comical 'testimonial' of my services in emancipating them. It would be well, perhaps, if I could *un-emancipate* some of them.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To N. Purcell O'Gorman.

Bury St. : 17th May, 1829.

My dear O'Gorman,—I got a jealous note from you conveying two letters, which were duly forwarded. I had not time to reply sooner to your observations, or rather accusations, which, indeed, might have been done by pleading not guilty to it. You accuse me of having concealed from you my plan respecting the taking my seat. Indeed you wrong me. I told you my plan, and you at that time distinctly condemned it. I was to give up the seat if the Ministry considered my assertion of the right a measure of hostility to themselves; and secondly, that I would give up the seat if the Ministry would oppose me as a Government measure. I endeavoured to persuade you that I was right in making

these offers, but you thought that I should at all events have insisted on taking my seat. Perhaps you were right and I was wrong in my course, but surely everything I said must have convinced you of my intention of taking my seat, if the Government gave me a favorable answer to each of the propositions which I thus made them. Since you left I got those answers, and of course I then proceeded to assert my right to the seat. Thus I concealed nothing from you, nor did I now *or at any time of my life* give you cause for real jealousy in any one scene of our political lives. My fate in the House is in the scale. I think I shall succeed. The Ministry are not against me; the greater part of the Orange members have declared in my favor. The only thing against me is the *ipse dixit* of that hopeful nephew of Lord Manners, the Speaker.⁵ The debate will be resumed early to-morrow, but you cannot possibly have an account of the result by the post of to-morrow, nor perhaps by that of Tuesday. There is no doubt whatsoever but that I shall be heard on my own behalf either at the table or at the Bar—the question really is *at which*. After the House has heard me, some of my friends will move that I should be allowed to take the oath in the Relief Bill and the property qualification oath. On that the debate will arise, and the decision will *decide* my fate.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Charles Sugrue, Cork.

Bury Street : 20th May, 1829.

My dear Charles,—I know your anxiety to hear *all* about me, and although the papers have communicated to you nearly as much as I know myself, yet I cannot but believe that you would not be displeased at my own account.

The Government behaved to me with the greatest duplicity. They distinctly declared that they would not make it

⁵ Manners Sutton, afterwards Lord Canterbury.

a Government question ; and when a gentleman disposed to vote for me in the usual way wrote to the Treasury to ask to *tie* with a Government member, he got an official letter stating to him that it was not to be opposed by the Ministry. But this promise to me was most grossly violated, and the delay from Friday until Monday was sought for by Peel for the mere purpose, I am persuaded, of making a personal canvass against me, which was necessarily more tedious, as, to preserve the appearance of consistency and truth, they did not issue Treasury tickets, as they are called. The truth is the Administration is an exceedingly weak one, and has all the vices of weakness, the principal of which are hypocrisy and falsehood. I should still have had a chance of success but for the conduct of Sir James Scarlett,⁶ who made a very strong and argumentative speech in my favour, and concluded by declaring that he would vote against me. This, of course, was a decisive blow. But the Attorney-Generalship is vacant, and poor Sir James is a man. Alas for humanity ! Thus between Tory falsehood and hypocrisy, and Whiggish *uncertainty*, the question was lost. There was one man who has behaved to me in a manner which exceeds all praise : that is Mr. Brougham. His conduct has been kind, generous, and persevering. He has given me the full benefit of his great talents and character. There is to be another discussion to-morrow night, but I do not continue to hope for any favorable result. It will, however, expose the Ministry to the derision and contempt of the public, by reason of their legislating heretofore out of a paltry and pitiful spitefulness against a single man. I intend, at once, to address the Electors of Clare. I am assured that I have a new election quite secure ; nay, it is said that there will be no rival candidate. At all events it is quite certain that Vesey FitzGerald will not stand. It would be folly of him to do so, as, upon the death of his mother, who is very old and very infirm, he is to be a peer. Thus I will be likely to have a great triumph. Indeed, I have every reason to be satisfied with the result. Brougham told

⁶ Afterwards Lord Abinger.

me to-day that there was but one opinion on the subject of my speech, and that is, that my success in a Parliamentary career is quite certain. Lord Lansdowne conveyed to me, through Tom Moore, his opinion that from report he had conceived that, however suited to a popular assembly, or mob, my eloquence would not answer for the *refinement* of Parliament, but that he was now decidedly convinced of the contrary. The Marquis of Anglesey came to see me twice with a still more flattering judgment. I do not mention these things out of vanity, but because I know they will give you pleasure.⁷ From *every quarter* communications of a similar description have reached me.

Give my most affectionate regards to the mother of your children, and to the children themselves. Make up your mind to allow a couple of your boys to spend a month or six weeks at Darrinane this summer.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To James Sugrue.*⁸

London: May 21st, 1829.

My dear James,—You cannot form the least idea of my first appearance on the Parliamentary stage. My speech was a dry argument, but it is said to have been in manner and tact beyond what could have been conceived and all that it should be.

If I be put out for Clare this night, which is very probable, I have had a kind of an offer of a *free* seat for the rest of the session for a borough, and to address Clare at once. Let not this matter get into the newspapers.

Most faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell returned home to contest Clare for the second time, and was received at the landing-place by enthusiastic thousands. The treasury of the late Catholic Association contained a sum of £5,000, which was voted to defray the

⁷ Charles Sugrue was the first cousin of O'Connell. ⁸ Another cousin.

expense of canvassing the county. His journey by road from Dublin to the south proved one continued ovation.

Considerable excitement attended the renewed canvass of Clare. The subsequent democrat Smith O'Brien strongly opposed O'Connell, and declared that the county gentry were all hostile to his candidature. Tom Steele, a Protestant gentleman of Clare, thereupon challenged O'Brien; they exchanged shots, and O'Brien was proceeding home when another Clare man, O'Gorman Mahon, invited him to mortal combat, but on O'Brien explaining that his language did not apply to 'Mr. Mahon' the affair terminated. The Liberator was re-elected for Clare.

To Wm. Roche, Limerick.

Bury St., London: 22 May, 1829.

My dear Sir,—Many, many thanks, not in words, but from my heart. I am determined to contest Clare, which I would now do even if I was undetermined before I got your *kindest* note. My accounts thence are most favorable. What care I for any political event when I am sure of the cordial friendship of such men as you? Desiring my best regards to your brother,⁹

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The return of Villiers Stuart for Waterford in 1826 had been regarded as a great triumph by the popular party, and when, three years later, he resigned the representation, O'Connell stigmatised the act as one of political cowardice. The Beresfords had long been regarded as hereditary enemies of national progress. The circumstances attendant on their defeat in 1826 are doubtless in the recollection of the reader. This influential sept again started Lord George Beresford for the seat now vacated by Stuart, giving it to be understood that they were prepared to lend their influence to a final settlement of the Catholic question. Mr. Pierce Mahony was asked to become conducting agent; as an earnest of the altered views of the Beresfords, they proposed that O'Connell and Sheil should be retained as their counsel.

⁹ 'J. R.,' author of the *Essays of an Octogenarian*.

To David Mahony, Dublin.

(Private.)

Kilrush : 14 June, 1829.

My dear Mahony,—You may rely upon it that the communication to me shall be strictly confidential. I am exceedingly delighted at the offer made me, as it proves that the memory of former dissensions is to be buried in oblivion. No man living more heartily desires that consummation than I do. Before I accept the retainer, I wish to have it distinctly understood that if I do accept it, there is to be no expectation that I will do anything beyond my professional duty; that is, there is to be no sale by me, nor any purchase by them, of my political exertion. I made this stipulation with Villiers Stuart, and although I went beyond that duty for *him*, it was only because the political sentiments I then advocated were more mine than his. This is a point which ought to be distinctly understood before I even consider whether I shall, or not, accept the retainer. If the offer of it under those circumstances shall be repeated—a matter of which I entertain some doubt, as, out of term, I made Villiers Stuart pay me £600—my professional remuneration I will leave to you and your brother, should the offer be repeated, and should I be able to accept it. I need not tell you that there could not be a greater inducement held out to me than the fact that you and your brother are the law agents of the Beresford family on this occasion. I have been always exceedingly well treated by that family when they employed me as a professional man.

I will certainly be in Dublin on Thursday night, at the latest. I have this county¹ hollow: half the county is not yet gone through, and my majority is already certain. It is impossible that there should be a serious contest. You know I would not deceive you; but I can now beat even Vesey FitzGerald, three to one. No other person could stand one hour: the popular excitement and enthusiasm are greater than ever. How wise in Master Peel and Co.

¹ The county Clare.

to send me back. I destroyed your letter. No human being shall know anything of its contents from

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Pierce Mahony to his brother David.

Union Hotel : 19th June, 1829.

My dear David,—I have seen Lord George Beresford this day on the subject of the Waterford election. I read to his Lordship my letter to you of yesterday, of which he approved ; and I have now to request that you will write a note to Mr. D. O'Connell, stating that it is his Lordship's desire to secure his professional services at the next election for the county of Waterford, for such member of Lord Waterford's family as may be a candidate on that occasion for that county ; that at present, Lord George Beresford is the person selected ; and in addition to the twenty guineas retainer, that we are authorised to say that, whether there shall be a contest or not, Mr. O'Connell shall receive £300 for his fee, and if there shall be a contest, £600. You will write Mr. Sheil² a similar note, stating that, in addition to his retainer, he shall receive £200 if no contest, and £400 if there shall be one. This arrangement will, I trust, be satisfactory to each of these gentlemen. It was suggested by me, yesterday, as, under all circumstances, the most equitable.

I again repeat that neither Lord Waterford, or his friends, intend in any degree to compromise their politics by selecting Messrs. O'Connell and Sheil for their counsel ; neither is it to be understood that either of these gentlemen are expected to compromise theirs, by the acceptance of their retainers. But, of course, we expect from them, as we would from any other gentlemen of their profession, that *bonâ fide* exercise of talent which their duty as counsel obliges them to give in support of their client. It would be an insult to them if I doubted for a moment that they

² O'Connell's able colleague at the late Catholic Association.

are ready to make this return for the confidence which is placed in them.

Indeed, I feel that a greater compliment could not be paid to their talents and station, than the proposition thus made, by a family they have so violently opposed on so many occasions. It is, besides, a strong indication of the disposition of the friends of the Government to give an example of forbearance and forgetfulness of all that has passed during the late struggle.

Ever yours,

PIERCE MAHONY.

O'Connell having 'slept over' the proposal, felt that it would be wiser to put an end to the negotiation. He was then in very embarrassed pecuniary circumstances, and it was not without a struggle that he rejected the offer.

To David Mahony, Dublin.

Merrion Square: 21st June, 1829.

My dear Mahony,—The letter of your brother is quite satisfactory in all its professional details. I entirely acquiesce in all he says of professional duty and emolument.

I am also proud of the selection made of me by Lord Waterford, as a professional man; the certainty that he and his family concur with all the real friends of Ireland in burying in oblivion all former feuds, is both satisfactory and consolatory. For my humble part, I am impressed with the strongest conviction that the distinctions between Protestant and Catholic, in politics, should be for ever forgotten.

I would not, therefore, have it conceived for one moment that my declining to accept the retainer has any other source than this: that having now ascertained the certainty of my return for Clare, I do not feel at liberty to be of counsel to any candidate pending the Parliament; as a member of the House, I consider myself precluded from being so; because if there were a disputed return, I would

be liable to be one of the judges of that return, so that it would be impossible for me to pre-engage my mind by my advice as counsel. If there shall be no new election, until the general election, I will then be too occupied for myself to be able to assist any other person. Of course you will distinctly understand that I do not consider myself any longer at liberty to be professionally engaged against the interest of Lord Waterford. My present prospects in Clare thus excluding me from accepting any such retainer, I again beg leave to express my great gratification at the matter and manner of the communication to me.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Knight of Kerry, M.P.

Darrynane Abbey: 12 September, 1829.

My dear Sir,—I fear your estimate of the Duke of Wellington's power and intentions is likely to be entirely falsified. I confess it is not possible to entertain a worse opinion of any Administration than I do of the present. They seem to me to be the mere tools of that most execrable of human beings—*quære human*—the Duke of Cumberland.

To the Knight of Kerry, M.P.

Darrynane Abbey: 24 Sep. 1829.

My dear Sir,—I wish you could give me any *evidence of the ministers'* intentions to do good to Ireland. All I want from the Government is to give the Emancipation Act its natural effect.

You are aware that the decided countenance given to the Orange faction prevents Emancipation from coming into play. There is more of unjust and unnatural virulence towards the Catholics in the present administration than existed even before the passing of the Emancipation Bill.

Before that event the Irish Government was shamed by a sense of the decency which is required from public

hostility. The Relief Bill has just enabled them to act with distrust—immediate and personal rancour on the one hand, and with open and unblushing favouritism on the other. The three next Judges are to be Joy,³ Leslie Foster,⁴ and Sergeant Lefroy,⁵ unless the Solicitor-General has earned a preference by his candour at Clonmel.⁶ What a prospect for another generation of the Irish People!

Believe me,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The correspondence which O'Connell had long maintained with the Knight of Kerry closed with these lines. Seven months later the Knight, having accepted office under the Duke, sought re-election for his native county.

Thereupon O'Connell published a letter in which he said that, as one of the Knight's constituents, he had a right, and deemed it a duty, to offer the electors of Kerry some observations. No man, he said, could suspect him of personal hostility towards the Knight. He had long honoured him with his friendship, which had continued, he was proud to add, to that hour. The remarks he offered had reference solely to the public conduct and address of the Knight of Kerry. But O'Connell's letter was more. It may be found in the *Dublin Evening Post* of April 17, 1830, and

³ Henry Joy became Chief Baron on the retirement of Mr. O'Grady, January 6, 1830.

⁴ Leslie Foster was appointed Baron of the Exchequer July 13, 1831. 'Take away that owl; it reminds me of Leslie Foster,' was a remark of a brother-judge many years after.

⁵ Lefroy did not obtain a judicial seat until twelve years from this date. In 1830—stung by the Government declining to send him Judge of Assize as usual—he resigned his Sergeantcy, but in 1841 accepted from Peel the post of Baron of the Exchequer. (See letter of May 16, 1827, *ante*.)

⁶ Mr. John Doherty and O'Connell had been friends until the year 1829, when at the Clonmel Assizes a breach occurred between them

which, later on, was widened at Cork, during the trial of the 'Doneraile Conspirators.' There is now before me a long letter to O'Connell dated May 15, 1830, in which the writer, Mr. Lanyon, states that Sheil, speaking of Doherty's conduct at Clonmel, said it was 'atrocious, and only the people have treated me with ingratitude I would put forward in the *Times* the facts I have collected here against him and crush him as a public man.' O'Connell assailed Doherty in Parliament in words hardly less trenchant than the philippic addressed by Grattan to Flood. Doherty retorted in a masterpiece of polite venom. Soon after he was made Chief Justice on the forced retirement of Lord Norbury.

records a formidable indictment against the Duke of Wellington.

The Knight had been the early associate of the Duke in the festivities of the Irish Court. The latter, in his splendid prosperity, always reverted to those hours with pleasure, and honoured 'Maurice Fitzgerald' with special regard. 'It was not easy to resist place,' writes Sheil, 'when held out by the hand of an old friend to one who stood, perhaps, in some domestic need of it.' The Duke's letters to the Knight of Kerry are still preserved, and would make a most interesting volume. Fitzgerald was a high-minded Irishman of the old school, and Lever has cleverly sketched him in 'The Knight of Gwynne.'

To Nicholas Maher, Thurles.

Darrynane Abbey : 13th Sept. 1829.

My dear Maher,—I fear my reply will not reach you before the dinner to Mr. Otway Cave has been actually given. I regret extremely that the shortness of the notice prevents me from being able to pay him that compliment. I think I know him well, and I am convinced the House of Commons does not contain a man of more pure, honourable, and patriotic mind. He is one of the most unaffectedly honest public men in the British dominions; and I trust I shall live to see him, and that shortly, fill the station of representative of your county,⁷ a county which has been so long misrepresented by scions of a very worthless aristocracy. Indeed, my indignation against the great men of your county is at this moment at its height, because I learn from the newspapers that they are so totally regardless of constitutional feeling and common humanity as to seek to have the infamous measure of the Insurrection Act introduced. But their vile speculation will, I trust, be

⁷ The county Tipperary. The Hon. Robert Otway Cave was not elected for Tipperary until 1835. The successful candidates in 1830 were Thomas Wyse, who had recently written a *History of the Catholic Association*, and the Hon.

F. Prittie. Robert Otway Cave, of Castle Otway, was the son of Lord Braye. Cave's popular sympathies were not lessened by his marriage with Sophia, daughter of Sir Francis Burdett. He died November 30, 1844.

disappointed by the firmness of the Government and the better sense of Parliament. The people, too, should be thoroughly aware that the way to defeat their enemies is to observe the law, to avoid all riots and outrages, and not strengthen the hands of their enemies by committing crimes. Crimes must and will be punished. The crimes against the people are for the present less likely to meet punishment.

But the scenes that are gone by will never be repeated, and the people will themselves learn that the way to triumph over their malignant enemies is to abstain from secret societies, illegal oaths, and Whiteboy outrages. If Mr. Otway Cave were the representative of your county he would cause the magistracy to be purged, or he would at least expose the delinquencies which the improper part of them may commit.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To N. Purcell O'Gorman.

(Confidential.)

Merriion Square : 24th Dec. 1829.

My dear O'Gorman,—I have just written to Waterford about you. I was desirous to see you when I heard that Pierse George^s would not stand. I have strongly urged them to call upon *you*, and to do so in a manner that would assure you that not one sixpence expense on your part should be required. Before my letter reaches Waterford perhaps some other candidate may be selected, but if not, I think you will hear from him. I intended to give £50 for any candidate. I will give £100 if you are the man. You know my frankness, therefore you will believe me when I say I will support you with as much zeal as you have done me. Do not hesitate for one instant if the committee in Waterford call on you. They cannot propose to you to stand without completely discharging you of all expenses whatever. That must be a *sine qua non*, and I have said so to

^s Pierse George Barron.

them. As soon as we get through the records I will go down to join you in your canvass.

I will buy a £20 rent charge, so as to qualify myself to speak as a freeholder, and to vote hereafter. I have written down to get it to buy. We will go to every parish in the county, and address the people from all the chapels, or at least as many of them as may be requisite. How I long to see your bold fist on a frank! The greatest blow the aristocracy ever got, the greatest triumph the Association ever attained, would be by beating the Beresfords with the worthy secretary.

If the thing take the turn, I wish surely O'Gorman Mahon will come forward; what he saved from Clare he should give now. I am full of spirits at the prospect of your return.

And believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To J. Sugrue.

5 Maddox Street, London: Feb. 9th, 1830.

My dear James,— . . . I am fast learning the tone and temper of the House, and in a week or so you will find me a constant speaker. I will soon be struggling to bring forward Irish business.

I am exceedingly amused by the exhibitions of the human mind that surround me. Such a finished — as⁹ — is, I never witnessed. Indeed, there is more folly and nonsense in the House than anywhere out of it. There is a low and subservient turn of thinking, and there is a submission to authority which is to the last degree debasing. In haste,

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁹ This allusion is probably to the then Chief Secretary for Ireland, whom O'Connell elsewhere styles 'a namby pamby young gentleman.' Among the stings with which he teased him were, 'I have heard

that barbers train their apprentices by making them shave beggars. My wretched country is the scene of his political education—he is the shave-beggar of the day for Ireland.'

To Thomas Attwood,¹ Birmingham.

5 Maddox St. : Feb. 16th, 1830.

My dear Sir,—I have at length been able to look into all the English Statutes which may be considered to bear upon the Birmingham Union, and I have great pleasure in being able to pledge myself, as a professional man, that your Society or Union is perfectly legal. I venture to ask you to act with confidence in this opinion, as I have had no small reason to turn my attention to subjects of this description. I will to-morrow find means to transmit my subscription to you ; that subscription will be a small one, but it shall be continued until the attainment of a thorough Reform in the House of Commons. I am quite convinced that the British and Irish nations cannot retain their stations amidst the Powers of the World ; neither can their people be restored to plenty and prosperity without a radical reform of the law, and of the present corrupt state of representation. To these great objects I devote all my faculties, and I beg, with the view to the attainment of these great objects, to have my humble name enrolled on the Birmingham Reform Union.

There are two principal means of attaining our constitutional objects, which will never be lost sight of. The first is the perpetual determination to avoid anything like physical force or violence, and by keeping in all respects within the letter as well as the spirit of the law, to continue peaceable, rational, but energetic measures, so as to combine the wise and the good of all classes, stations, and persuasions in one determination, to abolish abuse and renovate the tone and strength of the representative system. The other is to obtain funds, by the extension of a plan of collection which shall *accept* from no man more than he can, with the utmost facility, spare, even in these times of

¹ Attwood, whose name may be vainly searched for in most dictionaries of biography, was the Bright of his day and the contem-

porary of Cobbett. A fine statue to his memory has been erected in Birmingham. The 'Union' was a local league to promote Reform.

universal distress. The multiplication of small sums, of very small sums, should be the proper, as it would be the efficacious popular treasury. Its guardian should be the publication of every item of receipt and expenditure. I offer my experience to assist in arranging a plan for this purpose. The people should incessantly call for Reform, until their cry is heard and *felt* within the walls of Westminster.

Your very faithful

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

CHAPTER VI.

The New Association formed, but suppressed—The O'Connell Tribute—His Gratitude—'Long live King William'—A Sting for Staunton—Richard Barrett—Wellington again at the helm—Goulburn and O'Connell—General Cloney—O'Connell M.P. for Waterford—John condemns his Brother Dan for agitating 'Repeal'—Late Hours in the House—A New King for Belgium—Revolution in France—Continued Attempt to suppress his Meetings by Proclamation—Affair of Honour with Sir H. (afterwards Lord) Hardinge—Staunton again—The Northumberland Viceroyalty—The Leinster Declaration—The Repeal Struggle—Primate Curtis—National Education—Alarming Outlook—A Rush upon the Banks for Gold advised—A Spy in the Camp—Marcus Costello—The Second Viceroyalty of Lord Anglesey—Effort to induce O'Connell to take Office—Doherty made Chief Justice—A Slumbering Volcano—Lady Glengall—Mr. Wallace, Q.C.

EARLY in 1830 O'Connell founded 'The Society of the Friends of Ireland.' He issued addresses in its name to the people, calling for a general union of Irishmen, and urging a spirit of harmony and affection, and Christian charity. Some hot-headed friends, however, thronged forward with the rest, and the result was a Proclamation, dated April 24, 1830, suppressing the 'Friends of Ireland.'

To Richard Barrett.

London : May 3rd, 1830.

I am too much hurried with Parliamentary business to be able to address the people of Ireland in the manner I could wish upon the late despotic Proclamation. It is a weak effort to obstruct the union of Irishmen in the defence of their common country, and to control, and, if possible, stifle the public voice whilst they are laying enormous burthens of taxation on Ireland, taking measures to ruin the agriculture, and annihilate the public press. Really, it is 'too bad' to issue a gagging proclamation at such a moment as this. But the effect will be to rally all parties in favor of Ireland; and as to putting down conciliation

and national exertion, it shall be vain. I have a plan of going round, as soon as Parliament rises, to each county in Ireland, in order to see, on the spot, what can be done to conciliate the different parties, to obliterate animosities, to arrange for the ensuing elections, so as to set up and support men of intelligence and honesty for each county; and to organise a penny a man subscription in each parish, to be applicable for the support of the electors of that parish in their voting honestly and independently. Rely on it, that they must make an Act of Parliament against me, by name, or they shall not prevent me from reconciling Irishmen to each other, and combining the great majority, if not all of them, for the utility of our common but oppressed country.

The annual O'Connell Tribute, which in some subsequent years rose to £16,000 and higher, was projected at this time by Mr. Patrick Vincent FitzPatrick. The following letters make interesting reference to this great fact.¹ They are the first of a collection of much value, embracing several hundred, and containing the outpourings of O'Connell's inmost heart. FitzPatrick was an able financier and might, perhaps, be styled 'Chancellor of the Exchequer to the uncrowned monarch of Ireland.'

O'Connell to P. V. FitzPatrick.

5 Maddox Street, London: 10th May, 1830.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write merely to return you and my excellent, *excellent* friend² my most sincere and cordial

¹ See also p. 212, *infra*.

² The 'excellent, excellent friend' was Jeremiah Murphy, of Hyde Park, near Cork. It has been said that O'Connell sometimes failed to repay obligations to men who had rendered him material help; but certainly in the case of FitzPatrick or of Murphy this remark fails to apply. Sixteen years later—just nine months before his death—O'Connell provided for the son of his 'excellent friend.' The very curious circumstances attending the appointment of Jeremiah Murphy, Q.C., Master

in Chancery, I find in a letter written by the late Mr. Baldwin, Q.C.:—

'The Lord-Lieutenant wrote to Redington to say that my appointment was actually *made*, when such a pressure came that Lord John Russell thought they should yield to it. O'Connell's statement is, that he called on the Lord-Lieutenant as father of the Catholic Bar, and demanded the situation for a Catholic. The Lord-Lieutenant told him it was arranged that a person of that persuasion should have it. O'Connell then asked it for Murphy.

thanks. Indeed, to him I cannot be sufficiently grateful, because it is scarcely possible that I should be ever able to evince that gratitude otherwise than by words. To you it is just within the verge of possibility that some occasion may arrive when I may be able to show you how deeply obliged I am, and how sensibly I feel my debt of obligation to you. Believe me, it consoles me to think that there are some estimable persons who look to me with gratitude.

I approve of everything you suggest, and beg of you to write a particular note to each of my own connections who have (not) subscribed, stating that the subscriptions of others are delayed in consequence of the non-receipt of theirs.

I am assured that unless the Chancellor of the Exchequer be coerced by opposition from Ireland, he will force his measures through the Houses. The only persons who refused peremptorily to sign against the new taxation³ were the two O'Briens from Clare and Lord George Beresford.

The King⁴ may live months. He is not likely to survive one fortnight.

I begin my serious attack on Dogherty⁵ this night.

*To Philip Barron, Waterford.*⁶

London : June 7, 1830.

My dear Sir,—You are quite right—the time is come when Ireland should one and all rouse itself to fling off the administration of the Duke of Wellington. He is, in my

The Lord-Lieutenant said he was too late, as I was appointed, and the letter to notify it to the Chancellor was written and on the table. O'Connell, finding it was not posted, and consequently no official communication had been made, insisted that it was still within the control of the Government, and asked it as a personal compliment to himself. To this they yielded. *My* appointment superseded—Murphy substituted for me.⁷

And a better appointment than that of Jeremiah Murphy was never made.

³ What these taxes were O'Connell's letter of July 1 explains.

⁴ King George IV.

⁵ Mr. John Doherty, to O'Connell's indignation, was soon after promoted by Lord Anglesey. Doherty's smart reply to O'Connell's invective in Parliament will be remembered. Born 1783, died 1850. O'Connell always spells this name in the old-fashioned way, 'Dogherty.'

⁶ Mr. Barron had been a leading Catholic Emancipator, and at a time when Celtic studies were not the fashion, published a series of brochures inculcating the culture of

judgment, wholly unfit for the office of Prime Minister. A portion of Ireland, organised by the Catholic Association, of whom 1,400 were Protestants, forced him to grant Emancipation—but he granted it with the worst grace possible. He added to it the disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders, the suppression, or rather attempt at suppression, of the Monastic Orders, and the insult to our Bishops ; add to these the despotic law which has authorised the Lord Lieutenant to issue his late proclamation. In the annals of legislation there never was so unconstitutional a law. How he was compelled to emancipate is well known, but he threw as much of bitterness into the cup as he possibly could. I really think that he hates or despises Ireland. His powers, too, of reasoning appear to me to be of the lowest class. He is quite the commander-in-chief of the Ministry, and rules the men who have the littleness to act with him with a sway almost despotic. I think his foreign policy of the worst possible description, and that the tendency of his public measures is all towards arbitrary sway. It is, in short, essential to the peace and prosperity of these countries that we should have another Minister. As to Ireland, the insulting and insane attempt to increase the taxation at such a period of deep distress as the present is a proof of utter, total ignorance of our real situation, or total disregard of our wants. The hour, therefore, is come when every effort should be made to press on the administration of the Duke. This is the very time to attack his government in every legal and constitutional way. I very much approve of your plan to secure a gold currency for Ireland. If gold be good for England as a medium of exchange, it ought to be equally good for Ireland. Indeed, it is a very formidable advantage that the English have over us in this, that their currency is of actual value as an article of commerce, being gold ; and that we, Irish, should have no other currency than mere paper—in itself, as an

the Irish language. He was the cousin of Sir Henry Winston Barron, M.P., and of William Newell Barron, Q.C., and by his writings in the

newspaper press of Waterford and elsewhere exercised a considerable influence.

article of commerce, of no kind of value whatsoever. It is too bad that the welfare of Ireland should be thus postponed, as it were, to serve England. It seems, therefore, a duty to rouse the people to effectuate the necessary change, by calling for gold for every pound note. A man that has a pound note may surely as well have a sovereign. A thousand accidents may make a pound note not worth $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ There is nothing that can possibly render a sovereign worth less than 20s., and let me tell you that it may again become worth 30s. of the then currency. Call, therefore, on the people—the honest unsophisticated people—to send in the bank notes of every description, and to get gold. Take this as a measure of precaution everywhere; let it spread far and near; and then at least we will be so far on a par with England.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 24th June, 1830.

My dear Friend,—There is one thing actually oppresses my mind with regard to you. It is just this. I cannot even conjecture when or how I shall be able to show my gratitude to you.⁷ If I saw any prospect of letting you perceive how cordially grateful I am to you it would serve to relieve me from some anxiety. Of this be assured, that if the opportunity ever occurs, I will seize it with avidity.

Show *this* part of my letter to Mr. Dwyer, and if he has any money of mine he will give it to you; if not, James Sugrue writes to-morrow, and on receipt of his letter there will be an abundant fund to repay you—and to repay you with gratitude—your expenditures on that journey which has been so beneficial to my interests.

Your plan of a 'Collection Sunday' I highly approve of, but it cannot be realised in the present state of starvation. We must prepare our grounds in August for an arrangement in September—rather late in that month, too, it

⁷ For organising the O'Connell 'Tribute.'

should be. I will communicate with you again upon this invaluable suggestion.

There is nothing new. The Ministry, tottering, despised and despicable. The King lingering beyond expectation, to die just when one is used to his continuing alive!

Believe me, most gratefully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

George IV. died on June 26, but Parliament was not dissolved until July 24.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

London: June 28th, 1830.

My dear Friend,—I fear I led you astray on Saturday when I returned vexed at the absence of the Lord Chamberlain. Some fifty or sixty members were sworn in afterwards.

The swearing-in has gone on all day. I was sworn in about one o'clock: at that time more than three hundred members had taken the oaths. The House will proceed to business to-morrow. The address to the new King will be moved on Wednesday. It is said that Brougham will move an amendment, but that will depend on intervening events.

The first act of the King was to direct that the Duke of Norfolk should be sworn in as a Privy Councillor. Long live King William!

His second act was the direction that Sir Sidney Smith should be appointed full Colonel of Marines.

Nothing certain as yet relative to the new administration, nor whether there will be any important changes. Some changes must take place.

The report of the day is that the Parliament will continue to sit for six weeks; that is, that the greater part of the business will be regularly gone through. In short, the period is critical in the extreme, and nobody knows with certainty what the next event will be. The King is frank and affable, quite ready to take trouble and *bustle*. He therefore will not be the mere puppet of his Ministers. He

has not abandoned himself at once to the Holland House Party, as they expected. They are, you know, connected with him by a singular cross. The son of Lady Holland by her present Lord, while she was *legally* the wife of another, is married to one of the FitzClarences.

Yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

London: 1st July, 1830.

My dear Friend,—The Stamp Duties were abandoned; the increase on the spirits alone remains; the distillers do not complain, so that, though the *Freeman's Journal* is certainly right respecting the effect of the new tax, yet it is not worth while to throw away any good agitation on that subject. I also think we need say no more about gold, but perhaps to remark on the arbitrary act of the Bank of Ireland in requiring the name and address of every person requiring gold.⁸ This is an intimidation which should be lashed;⁹ and some person should go in with a note, or notes, and demand payment in presence of a witness, and then protest the note, and sue them, or sue them without a protest. But use your own discretion on this point. Whatever you do on this, or any other point, I will readily concur in, because you see the *home market* closer than I do. Not that I think we should retract one word we have said respecting gold, but at the utmost merely cease to fan the flame for the present. Yet you will use your discretion.

Now for news. For the present the King has adopted Wellington as the head of the administration. The only changes now contemplated are in the internal arrangements of the Cabinet itself. Goulburn's inefficiency is manifest to everybody, and there is no doubt but that he must be

⁸ O'Connell, in a public letter, dated January 14, 1831, urged a run upon the banks for gold. His kinsman and biographer, Mr. Fagan,

condemns the act. See note to letter of November 27, 1830.

⁹ Barrett was an able hand in wielding the editorial knout.

shifted.⁸ They do not, I believe, know what to do with him. There will also be some minor arrangements, but at present the Cabinet stands firm. Lord Grey's party and Lord Holland's are both thrown overboard, and accordingly hopes are being blasted. This was actually begun last night. The Lords were violent, but in the Commons there was a degree of acrimony and virulence seldom witnessed. It was manifestly the first ebullition of a settled party spirit. Even Lord John Russell was vituperative. He called the Galway Bill, as altered by the Duke of Wellington, *a job*. Of course that Bill will be rejected in the Commons.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

London: July 8th, /30.

My dear Barrett,—I cannot avoid remarking on the singularity of the conduct of Staunton⁹ towards me—that I never yet was in any *critical* situation but he, by some accident or the other, threw himself into the opposite scale. See his paper of Monday, where he takes part with the reporters. And on that very day I made three speeches which would have advantaged me in England and in Ireland, and they were all, to use the galling phrase, 'Burked.' Say this to him without asperity, but with a sense of my not having deserved from him this usage. You already know that I am off on Sunday, and will see you, please God, early on Tuesday; this will give me time for further operations. I will send you to-morrow an address to the Irish electors generally. I have got rather good news from

⁸ The Right Hon. William Goulburn had attained an unenviable fame by the partisan spirit in which he discharged the duties of Chief Secretary for Ireland. He is even said to have been a member of the Orange Society, and to have held 'the Liberator' in special aversion. One night both happened to stay at the same inn. O'Connell, before retiring to rest, paced the corridor liting the well-known lines of Moore:—

'We tread the land that bore us;
The green flag glitters o'er us;
The friends we've tried
Are by our side.'

Here Goulburn's door softly opened, and his head, crowned by a tall night-cap, peered forth.

'And the foe we hate before us!' added O'Connell, pointing at the grotesque object. In popped Goulburn's head again.

⁹ Editor of the *Morning Register*. author of *Hints for Hardinge*.

Clare. 2nd, I am invited to Drogheda; 3rd, I have had a strong invitation to Wexford, exclusive of my friend Cloney's² partial wishes; 4th, the Powers wrote to me about Waterford; 5th, I have been written to about County Galway; 6th, about Meath; 7th, about Louth; 8th, about Cork; and, but for Lord Kenmare's brother, I would be returned for Kerry.

And yet, amidst all these prospects, I know not what to do. Write to Tom Steele the moment you receive this, or rather to Newell Bridgman, at Ennis. I confess I would prefer Wexford, as it would free me from all my engagements, and would be a splendid county. The letter of Steele gives the answer of Major McNamara in a way *that is most unsatisfactory*.³

You will perceive that my anxiety is not small to be able to take a *decisive* course. I am bound to McNamara too strictly, that is the fact.⁴ There is nothing new; the King doing occasionally strange things, and every effort making to keep his wildness secret. This, however, is to be treated gently; we must not quarrel with him unnecessarily.

The moment I get over I will *agitate* strongly an Election Committee for every county. The way is immediately to have an investigation made as to the capacity of each county to return a reformer; this plan makes me doubly anxious to be in Dublin. All the Irish business will be over this night. I was unable to attend last night for more than an hour, during which time I got all my objections to Irish Bills allowed before they were brought forward.

Sheil⁵ has given up Louth, as I am just told. If I got Wexford, Sheil could easily get Drogheda, and the more easily for my breaking the way for him.

² The rebel general in 1798. He often presided as chairman at the Catholic Association. Soon after this date he wrote his *Memoirs*, which Maurice O'Connell prepared for the press.

³ Steele and MacNamara were influential in selecting a popular

candidate for Clare.

⁴ It was Major McNamara who acted as O'Connell's second in the duel with D'Esterre.

⁵ Sheil, on reflection, successfully contested Louth in 1831. He finally became British Minister at Florence.

Do not laugh at me for being so uncertain as to my course.

Yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To N. Purcell O'Gorman, Dungarvan.

(Private.)

Duckspool: 25th July, '30.

My dear Purcell,—If I knew you were at Ballygullane I should have called for and asked your personal assistance.⁶ I have got the second votes of all parties, both the Duke's⁷ and the Beresfords.⁸ It is the common cant of electioneering to talk of certainty of return, but my host John Galway, who knows the county as well as any man living, offers in vain fifty to one on my return. He has bid me be as certain of it as of my own existence; but even without the weight of his authority I was already quite convinced of it. Only think that at Tramore, which gave Barron only three votes, I have no less than thirty-two, that is, *every vote*. Duckett, Manners, Ronayne, Carberry of this town, &c. &c., are in my train. All the seculars have joined me except Power O'Shea, and his second votes are tolerably secure.

I have got decided and most friendly support from Power of Faithlegg, and all his friends. Tell Charles O'Connell I make it a point that he will not oppose O'Gorman Mahon, and that I beg of all my friends not to oppose him. If I could combat directly for O'Gorman Mahon, I certainly would do so, I have been so well treated here by his friends. You may use this fact for him as *you* please.

Ever, my dear Purcell, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Brother, afterwards Sir James O'Connell, Bart.

August, 1830.

My dearest James,—This will be handed to you by my very kind and particular friend Mr. P. V. FitzPatrick. He

⁶ The members returned for the county Waterford in 1830 were Lord George Beresford and Daniel O'Connell.

⁷ The Duke of Devonshire.

⁸ The family of the Marquis of Waterford.

is the eldest son of the late Mr. Hugh FitzPatrick. He has been one of the most useful, if not the most perseveringly useful, of the managers of 'the Fund.' All the articles in the *Post* on that subject have been written by him. I cannot describe to you how grateful I am to him. He is now going to the South of Ireland. I recommend him to you in the strongest terms. Invite him to your house whilst he remains in Kerry. Shew this letter to John,⁹ and take care to *forward* him throughout the kingdom of Kerry.

I leave this letter open that he may show it in Cork to our friend Charles Sugrue, Tom Fitzgerald, &c. &c.

Your most affectionate Brother,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Confidential.)

Darrynane Abbey: 31st August, 1830.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The Elections are over—I may say triumphantly over. The harvest is getting in. The periodical distress is for the present over. This is the time to do something for the Fund. This, of course, is confidential; that is, it must not be known to come from me; but I cannot tell you how delighted I was at the development of your plan for Diocesan Sunday Collection. One Sunday, is it not, for each Diocese? Now would be the time to realize it. There should be a communication with each Bishop, and first with those most friendly. I think in Waterford it should, if possible, commence. You should therefore feel your way there. Let us commence in action

⁹ John O'Connell, of Grena, brother of 'the Liberator.' But it is a curious fact that John vehemently opposed and denounced in private the public policy pursued by his brother Dan at this time. I find in the archives of the Knight of Kerry many letters from John to this effect. The following, dated 'Grena, 23rd November, 1830,' is a sample. He is speaking of repeal of the Union:—

'I never was so much displeased with my brother as I am on account

of his persevering in his agitation of that question. My opinion is firmly fixed against the repeal. In my judgment, if the Anti-Unionists were to succeed, separation must follow, or, what would be almost as bad, a constant collision between the Parliaments of both kingdoms, and, as a matter of course, a ferment would be kept up in this unfortunate country which would preclude any chance of employment for our people or improvement in the country.'

at all events. Cork Diocese is favorable. The Bishop would give his aid, and has indeed already recommended it to his friends. I think it would be well to put forward the idea that one shilling each from one seventh of the Irish Catholics would be one million of shillings, or £50,000; more, in fact, than could be necessary. See what is to be done. Things of this kind want only collectors of energy and perseverance. I depend on you for both. Let me hear from you speedily, and assist me by your advice as well as active co-operation. I rely much, very much, on you, and will never cease to be grateful.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell had been in the receipt of an enormous professional income, which he relinquished that all his time should be given to Ireland. Judgeships were offered to him but declined. The cost of agitation was great, and his friends decided that an annual tribute, known as the 'O'Connell Rent,' should be raised. Pat Costello, a man of coarse powers of humour, whose name will sometimes appear in this correspondence, one day hailed FitzPatrick with the remark: 'I say, Pat, how much do you allow O'Connell out of the rint?' The cream of the joke lay in the irreproachable character of the man. It may be added, on the authority of William Murphy, one of the earliest trustees of the Fund, that from 1829 up to 1834 the total amount collected was £91,800.

Friends and foes assailed O'Connell for his acceptance of this tribute, and amongst the 'friends' was John, Earl of Shrewsbury, the great Catholic champion, but the usually caustic pen of Greville failed to join in this adverse criticism. 'His dependence on his country's bounty,' writes Greville,¹ 'in the rent that was levied for so many years, was alike honourable to the contributors and the recipient; it was an income nobly given and nobly earned.'

The proclamations which appeared about this time abridging the right of public meeting and in many instances rendering it impossible, caused to the popular leaders great

¹ Greville's *Journal* (Victoria), ii. 386.

perplexity. Mr. John O'Brien, a respectable trader of Dublin, though personally unknown to O'Connell, ventured to ask his opinion and advice.

To Mr. John O'Brien.

Darrynane Abbey: 20th Sept. 1830.

Sir,—Instead of your making any apology for writing to me on the interesting subject of your letter, I would wish you to understand that I consider it a high compliment to be consulted by any persons desirous of procuring redress in a legal and constitutional manner.

That redress can be obtained by you if you combine in a proper manner to attain it. Your questions shew that you are desirous to do so, and I have great pleasure in answering those questions.

You first ask, 'The manner of meeting publicly and legally, so as to give full expression to your feelings.'

The law permits any number of persons to hold such meetings as you describe. The only difficulty is to get a proper place to meet in. That I must leave to your discretion. It should be some room or covered place, in order to take away the pretext of considering your meetings dangerous to the public peace. There should be no obligation imposed on any person to attend, nor any *oath*, *pledge*, or other *engagement* entered into. There should be nothing secret or concealed in your proceedings. You should avow all your objects, and those objects should be the procuring redress through the channels of the courts of Law, and of the legislature. You should at all times give facility to the magistracy or to persons deputed by them to investigate all your papers, documents, &c. With these views and precautions you may meet at stated or at uncertain periods, as you think fit. You may elect a chairman or president, secretary and committee of management.

It is quite true that the Act called 'Wellington's, or the worse than Algerine Act,' is still in force, and will continue so until the end of the next Session of parliament. But I advise you not to be intimidated by that Statute, as it is not

in force against any meeting unless first proclaimed by the Lord Lieut., and although I have as contemptuous an opinion as possible of the present administration, still I do not think that the Lord Lieut. will again presume to put that act into force. If he should be so weak or so wicked as to do so, which I do not believe, then you must dissolve the moment the proclamation issues. Until you are proclaimed, you violate no Law in meeting.

You secondly ask, 'How you can collect the necessary funds.' My advice to you is just this. To make your funds consist of an admission subscription of, say, one shilling, the payment of that shilling to constitute a man a member, and each individual to continue a member as long as he contributes one halfpenny a week. By advancing two shillings each individual would be a member for half a year, and would then have to pay but one shilling for every other half year. I would strongly advise you not to exceed the halfpenny a week, or at all events not to go beyond one penny a week.

This money should be collected by a treasurer to be chosen by ballot. The names of the subscribers should be entered in a book as they pay, and that book should be always open to inspection. There should also be a copy of the weekly or monthly returns given to each member. When the treasurer collected the money then a legal difficulty arises under the Statute already mentioned—'The Wellington, or worse than Algerine Act.' That Statute prohibits the raising money to be at the disposal of any 'society or body of persons.' You should therefore give your monies, until the Wellington law expires—that is, until the end of the next session of parliament—to the disposal of some one confidential person. This is a serious difficulty, but can be got over by finding some one man of sufficient integrity and public principle, who would be sure to devote your money according to your intentions. Fortunately you need not go far to find such a person. I can recommend to you a man of the highest and most trustworthy integrity. I mean my friend Mr. Edward Dwyer. You will find him

at the Parliamentary Intelligence Office, 26 Lower Stephen's Street. I would be answerable for him with my existence. He will lodge the money in his own name; *it must be* in a bank; and give you weekly returns of his receipts and expenditures.

The first step you should take would be to employ Mr. William Forde, a most skilful and honorable Attorney whose name is probably known to many of you. He lives on Arran Quay. He has in his office two causes instituted by the Catholic Association to enforce the rights of Catholics and Liberal Protestants to their freedom of the City of Dublin. These causes were stayed by the granting of Emancipation and the consequent separation of the Association. They could be revived if Mr. Dwyer or any other individual possessing your confidence had it in his power to advance to Mr. Forde the necessary funds to carry on those causes. The King's bench in Ireland is unfortunately not as well informed on the Law of this subject as could be wished, and their refusal to decide the questions on the return to the mandamus applied for by Mr. Forde is no great proof of their legal acumen; but fortunately there has been a case since decided in England that makes the Law quite plain in favour of enforcing the right, and if your friends associate as I have suggested, and collect funds in the manner allowed by Law and pointed out by me, you will, I think, compleatly succeed. You should also at your meetings prepare petitions to parliament for a redress of the other grievances inflicted on the Citizens of Dublin by the Corporation. You should also petition against such other legal obstacles as exist to the freedom of trade and commerce in Ireland. It is scarcely necessary for me to remind you that the poverty and misery of the operative classes in Ireland is mainly, and I may say exclusively, to be placed to the fatal measure of the Union.—I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To the Duke of Wellington.

Darrynane Abbey : 28th August, 1830.

My Lord Duke,— . . . Every man of common sense feels that nothing can be more preposterous than the hours which are given to public business by the British House of Commons. It is equally monstrous to imagine that business could really be done at such hours. The House sat last session almost constantly until near four o'clock in the morning. Nothing could be more destructive to the health of those who desire to watch over all the interests of the people.

Consequently some of the most honest men that House contained have declined a re-election, owing to their inability to endure this perversion of time and season. . . .

Besides the destruction of health by the bad practice of devoting the night to that business which should be done by day, there is this more important objection to the present system, namely, that it is calculated to make the House as much as possible the mere registry of the will of the Minister for the time being. It is impossible to discuss with calm deliberation the measures that are submitted to the House at a late period of the night. It is also impossible to have any adequate abstract of the proceedings appear before the public. The present practice has all these vices. First, it tends to diminish the number of men of experience who would belong to the Legislature; secondly, it prevents discussion and deliberation on matters the most interesting in their details to the people at large; and thirdly, it prevents the public from becoming acquainted with the real state of public business.

It is true that the great party questions are debated and reported, but the matters of detail, the business which relates to internal regulation, affecting the public much more than the 'great questions,' are slurred over with the most shameful negligence, and at length abandoned to that worst of all possible guides, the discretion of the Treasury Bench.

There is no other public assembly in the world which holds its sittings at night. All the business of the world is transacted in the day, with the single exception of British legislation. He who, like me, has seen the workings of this system, must feel disgust at its abominations. I will not attempt to give details; the deciding without hearing is one of them. There were in the last Parliament many youthful and some aged Sybarites, who flocked in loaded with wine and victuals when the division was about to take place, but who attended to their sensual gratifications whilst the discussion was going on.

This system should be reformed altogether. Fortunately it is in the power of any one member to produce this reform. We need not wait for popular sentiment to awaken in England, where the love of rational liberty has either long slumbered or been converted into uses for private and individual advantage. We need not wait for aid from abroad; this power of correction the honest men in the House have in their own hand.

I have, therefore, pledged myself to the men of Waterford, who have chosen me for their representative, to move an adjournment at nine o'clock every night. This pledge I will redeem. The Treasury members may defeat me on each division on the question of adjournment, but as I am bound to persevere in repeating the motion to adjourn, resistance will be vain, and it will become absolutely necessary to make new arrangements.

An arrangement consistent with common sense would be this. Let the Speaker attend the House at half after ten, and, prayers being said, let the chair be taken as soon as forty members appear; if at eleven there be not forty members, let the House stand adjourned, but let every *such* adjournment be followed at the next sitting by a call of the House, and a peremptory order of committal against every absent and unexcused member. This would secure attendance.

It may be said that there then would be no provision made for the sittings of Committees. That, too, could be

provided for without difficulty. The House at present sits usually but four days (or rather nights) in the week. Let the House in future sit but three days—Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday. Let the Committees sit the other days, and let them sit at half after nine, at latest at ten, in the morning. Thus five times the present quantity of business could be done by the Committees.

The regulation of 'orders' and 'motions' may also be preserved by a slight change. Let there be two order days and one motion day, and two motion days and one order day in alternate weeks.

The public business may thus be effectually done—as effectually at least as the *present* machinery of representation will permit. The gross absurdity of consuming the nights in doing that which ought for every reason to meet the daylight will be terminated, and one step will be taken to afford a radical remedy to a grievance which appears to me to savour of folly almost as much as of vice.

My Lord Duke, prepare in time for this change. Let the Session, if necessary, commence sooner, let it last longer, but let the public business be done, as all business should be done, at reasonable hours, and with the full knowledge of those interested.

Having been the first person to propose to the British legislature the mode of voting by ballot, the only rational and honest mode of voting, where undue influence, intimidation, and corruption *may* prevail; having *had* this honour, I feel it my duty to make another effort in the cause of common sense. . . .

I have, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In 1814 Belgium had been placed under the sovereignty of the House of Orange. After the revolution of 1830 the Duc de Nemours was elected king, but Louis Philippe, his father, refused his consent, and Leopold, Prince of Coburg, son-in-law of George IV., became sovereign of Belgium. In August 1831, the King of the Netherlands, previously known as the Prince of Orange, struggled to regain Belgium.

France sent 30,000 troops to help Leopold. An armistice was the result. Previous to these events O'Connell had a correspondence with Mr. Francis A. Walsh, then connected with the press, but afterwards highly distinguished as a barrister and later as Professor of Law in the Queen's College, Cork. Mr. Walsh died in 1852.

To Francis A. Walsh, Cork.

Darrynane Abbey : September 11th, 1830.

My dear Sir,— . . . I trust that the Belgians will fling off the king whom England and her Holy Alliance have thrust upon them. There never yet was a more atrocious act of tyranny than the imposing the Dutch King on the people of Belgium. It was as undisguised a piece of despotism as was ever yet exhibited to the world. The inhabitants of Belgium were never consulted, neither were their feelings, opinions, nor interests regarded. It suited the caprice or vicious views of the military despots, who, at that fatal period, 'topped the universe,' to prostrate the Belgian people before the footstool of a gross Dutchman, and they did so. Such is the foundation stone of the allegiance due by the Belgians to their *late* masters.

The King of the Netherlands, however, became a prime favourite with the English nation. He has been sustained by the British press in almost all his acts of oppression. Why has he acquired so much honour amongst the English? For two reasons. First, they, the English, are the most Protestant priest-ridden nation in the world; and secondly, the Dutch King was a Protestant, who behaved with the most consummate injustice to his Catholic subjects. Such was the source of his popularity in England.

As a Catholic, I have long watched over the conduct of the Belgians, admired their honest and persevering patriotism, and felt sympathy in their suffering and compassion for their undeserved fall. They were oppressed at home and calumniated abroad.

Among the instruments of this base disposition to calumny, one of the principal was that sad specimen of

dishonest talent—*The Times*. It may be worth while, though perhaps it is not, to look into an article in that paper of the 4th of this month in order to refute it. That article, however, admits that the Belgian deputies in the Netherlands parliament almost universally supported every liberal measure and opposed every oppressive law. It is a curious thing to see how completely I am borne out in my often repeated assertion, that sincere Catholics are, after all, if not the only, certainly the most persevering friends of rational liberty. The Belgian deputies were Catholics, the Dutch deputies were Protestants. The Catholics uniformly voted for laws tending to freedom and opposed everything that partook of slavery. The Protestants did directly the reverse. They were nearly equal in number. The Catholics were unable to carry any popular law without the concurrence of some Protestants. Whenever they could persuade a few Protestants to join them the popular cause triumphed. When, on the contrary, the court desired to enact a severe or an unjust law, they had to seduce or bribe a few of the Catholic deputies; and, alas! they sometimes succeeded with three or four—for it is a melancholy truth that you will find ‘Orange Papists’ elsewhere besides in Ireland. On the whole, however, the union between public liberty and Catholic conscience was not only salutary, but as nearly complete as a despotic government would permit. The point on which the King behaved with the most undisguised oppression was that which related to the Church. He insisted upon a complete despotism in the nomination of Catholic Bishops. The clergy honestly and firmly resisted. The consequence was, that every diocese but one or two was a short time ago vacant, the bishops having died, and no canonical successor having been appointed. At length a concordat was arranged with the Pope, on terms highly derogatory to the independence of the Church; but, though the terms were galling, and tending to degrade, yet they were submitted to by the Catholics. The King, however, refused for a long time, and until very lately, to give the Catholics the benefit

of even this bad bargain. I believe it has yet been unperformed on his part.

The next point on which he earned *the heavy hatred* of his people was on the subject of education. There were seminaries in each diocese which had been founded by the donations of individuals. They were private property, not at all endowed by the State, but dedicated by private persons, out of their own means, to religious and classical education, under the inspection of the Bishop of each see. One of the first acts of the tyrant Dutchman was to seize on the properties of these seminaries and to close the schools. They were, in fact, free schools for all the people—children received an almost gratuitous education at them; and although there was somewhat too much given to the study of languages, especially the ancient classics, still the education obtained at these seminaries was quite sufficient for commerce and for the learned professions. Theology was, in particular, taught to all those who intended to become clergymen. If a Catholic King had thus seized on foundations for schools, instituted for the education of Protestant clergymen and laymen, how loudly, and indeed how justly, would the English press exclaim against the bigoted injustice of thus robbing Protestants of their property and stifling Protestant education! But as it is done by a Protestant King to a Catholic people—lo! and behold! the *honest* English writers misrepresent and applaud the act.²

I throw out these facts to you, that you may use them as you see fit. I congratulate Ireland on the talent nature has bestowed upon you, and on the talent and patriotism with which God, as I hope, has inspired you.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It will be recollected that O'Connell, when pursuing his studies at Douay, witnessed some horrors of the French

² He was amused, about this time, at the following dialogue overheard at an inn: 'I hear the Low Countries have risen.' 'I am

glad of it,' exclaimed the landlady; 'we shall not hear of the floods doing so much damage again.'

Revolution.³ He had been intended for the priesthood—a denial to the contrary notwithstanding—and it is said in Iveragh that long after his return he was known to the peasantry by the name of ‘Father Dan.’⁴ He felt acutely for the martyred priests of France: the deeds of the Revolution made so deep an impression upon his mind, that, as he constantly told the Irish people, no boon was worth the purchase of one drop of blood. But there was another French revolution which, in the following letter to his son-in-law, he hails with very different feelings:—

*O'Connell to his Son-in-Law.*⁵

Darrynane Abbey : 11th September, 1830.

My dear FitzSimon,—The French revolution is, in all its aspects, consolatory, and deserving of the highest praise. The people were in everything right, the Government in everything wrong; and, as an atonement to human nature for so many successful crimes, patriotism was in this instance victorious, and tyranny was completely overthrown.

There is one feature in this great and satisfactory change which I hail with the most profound conviction of its utility—the complete severance of the Church from the State. Infidelity, which is more persecuting in its nature than the most intolerant of the unhappy sects that have rent the seamless garment of Christ—infidelity, which has deluged France with the blood of the Catholic Clergy, was losing ground by degrees since the concordat obtained by Napoleon; but the progress of Christian truth and of genuine piety was much impeded since the return of the Bourbons by the unhallowed commixture of zeal for religion with servile attachment to the Bourbons. ‘*La religion et le Roi*’ were put in juxtaposition, and the latter *seemed* as much an object of worship as the former, but only *seemed*, for the Catholic clergy of France have been basely and

³ Page 1, *ante*.

⁴ John O'Donovan, LL.D., when prosecuting, in 1836, his inquiries on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, learned this fact, as he assured me.

⁵ Christopher FitzSimon, Esq., B.L., afterwards Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper. It will be remembered that he married ‘Nell,’ a highly gifted daughter of Mr. O'Connell.

atrociously calumniated by many, and, I am sorry to say, by none more than by Brougham, when he called them bigoted and besotted. They were not, and are not, either the one or the other. The charge is false, and, indeed, in every respect unbecoming. No, the Catholic Clergy of France are learned, pious, exemplary, and most charitable and zealous. But they were placed in 'a false position.' The events of the first revolution, written in characters of blood, convinced them that the safety of religion was connected with the security of the throne. When one reflects on the almost countless massacres which, in the first revolution, were perpetrated on the Catholic clergy—for the clergy of every other persuasion were spared and protected; when one recollects that the first revolution abolished even the forms of Christianity, declared that death was an eternal sleep, and struck out Sunday—the day dedicated by God to His own service—from the calendar; when a man recalls these facts, and reflects on this, that the Liberals of the present day appear to have inherited from the Jacobins of 1792 all their hatred of the Christian religion, it will not appear strange that the Catholic clergy of France should have fallen into the error of believing that religion was wedded to loyalty. The consequences, however, of this error were most deplorable. The Bourbons were a foolish race of despots, and every crime they committed was attributed to religion. Religion being thus enlisted as an ally of the Bourbons, shared in the hatred which the acts of the Bourbons engendered. Almost all the patriots were anti-religionists, if not infidels. All the courtiers pretended to devotion, or, at least, the far greater part of them, and it was suspected that many affected more piety than they felt.

Religion was thus placed in a false position. Catholicity in France was situate somewhat as Protestantism has been, and to a certain extent still is, in Ireland. It was considered to be the enemy of the people and of liberty.

I heartily rejoice that the last revolution has altered the position. Religion, left to its own intrinsic merits, may

sustain some slights, and will certainly be exposed to many calumnies; but those merits and the heavenly beauty of its precepts and practices will be likely to win their way with more facility now that they cannot be ranged with any hostile party. The learned, pious, and zealous Clergy of France, no longer visited by the hatred for civil oppressions, will, I trust in God, be able to make more real converts, will be surrounded certainly with a smaller number of hypocrites, and, I hope, with a much greater concourse of sincere Christians—Christians not merely in word, but of inward and thorough conviction, and of a piety which will certainly be unaffected, and, I trust, will be consolatory and exemplary. Religion has regained its natural station, and cannot fail to fructify under the hands of the holy and able men who are its guides and pastors.

Always most affectionately yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

During the absence from Ireland at this time of the Duke of Northumberland, the Viceroy, a manifesto appeared, signed by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Hardinge, and forbidding O'Connell's Anti-Union Association or Society for Legislative Relief. The great Agitator, in a speech, declared that his blood boiled to see an English scribe dare, in the face of Heaven, to trample down the people of Ireland with his iron heel. 'I arraign that paltry, contemptible little English soldier, who had the audacity to put his pitiful and contemptible name to an atrocious Polignac⁶ proclamation, and that too in Ireland—in my country—in this green land—the land of Brownlow—the country of Grattan; the land of Charlemont, and of the 70,000 Volunteers—the heroes of the immortal period of '82. In that country it is that a hireling scribe (a chance child of fortune and of war), urged on by his paltry lawyerings, put his vile name to this paltry proclamation, putting down freemen. I would rather be a dog and bay the moon than the Irishman who would tamely submit to so infamous a proclamation. I have not opposed it hitherto, because that would implicate the people, and give our enemies—the

⁶ Prince Jules de Polignac, the Prime Minister of Charles X., whose manifestoes produced the revolution of 1830. Died 1847.

English Major-General and his lawyering staff—a triumph. I trust the day is not far distant when reason shall be heard, and when fine and imprisonment shall mark the foul conduct of Secretary Major-General Sir H. Hardinge. He usurped the prerogative of the Lord-Lieutenant alone, greater, I admit, than any that the King is invested with; and I have no hesitation in stating that for this he is indictable at law!’

Sir Henry Hardinge, stung by these expressions, wrote to ascertain, first, whether O’Connell avowed them; and next, whether he was disposed to maintain them—in which case he should afford the Chief Secretary satisfaction in mortal combat.⁷

O’Connell wrote the following note :—

Mr. O’Connell does not feel himself called on either to avow or disavow anything attributed to him by the public papers. At the same time, that if any allegation of *fact* be pointed out to him—attributed to him—which is not true, he will readily either disavow the assertion, if untruly attributed, or contradict, and atone in every way possible for the allegation, if he made use of it.

No man living is more ready than Mr. O’Connell to

⁷ O’Connell must have known that Hardinge was thin-skinned, and he probably calculated that, if provoked into a challenge, a success would be scored against the Irish Government. Sir H. Hardinge was an old hand at the *duello*. In 1824 he was involved in an affair with Lord Londonderry. When, on the fall of Napoleon, the Allies entered Paris, Hardinge was amongst the British officers who were stationed in the capital. One evening, while conducting some ladies home from the theatre, he was insulted by a Prussian officer; he did not take any notice of the circumstance, but next day ascertained his name, and found that he was a subaltern. He therefore wrote a challenge to the commanding officer of the corps, stating the insult, which was rather national than personal, and demanding satisfaction; adding,

that he had addressed him as an officer of equal rank, but should afterwards call on every officer in the corps, until he descended to the person that had insulted him. The commanding officer, struck with astonishment at such seeming temerity, applied to the General of the Division, who, equally surprised, requested an audience of Sir Henry, and, feeling the respect due to a brave officer, compelled his offending subaltern to make a public apology to Hardinge before the assembled regiment. O’Connell was much blamed for seeking to disparage Hardinge as a soldier; but it may, perhaps, be added, on the authority of Greville’s *Journal* (Vic.), vol. iii. p. 214, that ‘the Duke [of Wellington] does not think very highly of Hardinge’s military talents.’

disavow and atone for any error in point of fact, which he may have fallen into.

Mr. O'Connell will not receive any kind of communication with reference to such a mode of proceeding, be the consequences of such disclaimer what they may; repeating his readiness to retract and atone for any fact alleged by him not founded in proof.

He spoke of Sir Henry Hardinge in his public capacity, as an instrument of despotism. He did not say one word of him in his private capacity.

As a public man, he did speak of Sir Henry as he would of any other man who trampled on the liberties of Irishmen, and he must say, that fighting a duel would be a bad way to prove that Sir Henry was right or Mr. O'Connell wrong.

Colonel D'Aguilar waited on O'Connell, but succeeded in making him repudiate only the words 'hireling scribe' and 'a chance child of fortune and of war.'

Richard Barrett, to whom many characteristic letters will be found addressed, was now editor of the *Pilot*, a fully accredited organ of O'Connell's policy.

The late John Quinlan informed me that O'Connell's first acquaintance with Barrett was formed at what professed to be a charity dinner, but which was really a political reunion. Barrett at this time was attached to the Conservative press. However, in a post-prandial speech the genial expression fell from him that while Wilberforce was earning the thanks of philanthropists for his efforts to liberate black slaves abroad, O'Connell had earned lasting gratitude for his exertions on behalf of white ones at home. The pressman and Tribune soon came to know each other well, and Barrett being a Protestant, O'Connell was specially glad to secure him as confidential colleague in political work. He brought prestige with him too. Barrett's family were not unknown to fame; his brother, Eaton Stannard, who died in 1820, had won literary distinction, and the earlier volumes of *Notes and Queries* show the interest which attached to his name.

To Michael Staunton.⁸

Killarney: 11 October, 1830.

My dear Staunton,—I got your very interesting letter; with much of it I agree. The Union should now be agitated in every possible shape—in all those so well and wisely suggested by you—but not to the exclusion of the formation of a permanent society. A permanent society is absolutely necessary in order to collect funds *in primo loco*, to collect funds *in secundo loco*, and to collect funds, thirdly and lastly, because we have both mind and body within us, and all we want is the means of keeping the machine in regular and supple motion. Corruption was said by Burke to be the oil that makes the wheels of Government go. Money is as necessary to keep in due operation the springs of popular excitement. In this, Mad Lawless⁹ was most wicked in resisting the shilling admission to the last aggregate. He only looked to a popular splash; but when you do not and cannot compel men to pay, giving them the choice to contribute or stay away is no hardship.

I left my mountains on Thursday; attended in Killarney that day the best public dinner I ever was at. On Friday we got up a most numerous meeting, in honor of the French and Belgic revolutions, in the court house of Tralee, and passed many honest resolves. On Saturday another meeting in the same court house, and resolutions in favour of petitions against the Subletting and Vestry Bills, for radical reform, and the Repeal of the Union. To-day I attend a dinner to Leader at Kanturk; to-morrow I get a public

⁸ See letters dated June 9, 1815, and July 8, 1830. Mr. Staunton was now owner of a popular newspaper—the *Register*—to which frequent reference will be made in these letters. A writer in the *Westminster Review*, alluding to the *Morning Register*, says: ‘This journal was instituted in October, 1824, by Mr. Staunton. At this period the Catholic body, rising hourly in energy and political importance, called loudly for a public

journal with literary capabilities to represent their wants and to describe their proceedings. As an inducement to Mr. Staunton to proceed with the undertaking on a large and splendid scale, a number of gentlemen proposed to raise a respectable sum in shares to be repaid after a certain period by the proprietor. The paper was then started.’

⁹ Sometimes styled ‘Honest Jack Lawless.’ This able, impulsive, and at times indiscreet man died in 1837.

dinner in Cork; on Wednesday, a meeting for redress of grievances in Youghal; on Thursday, a public dinner in Waterford; on Friday, a meeting in Waterford for redress of grievances. So that you see I am not idle.

Always yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

P.S.—The Lord Lieutenant¹ arrived at Lord Kenmare's² late on Saturday night. He attended yesterday at Church and returned on foot; there was an enormous crowd in the streets, who drew up with great regularity and made a lane for the Duke, but in solemn silence. He made a violent effort to obtain a cheer; for finding it was not spontaneous he took off his hat and made a graceful bow to the people. There was not the least reply. Capt. Herbert, R.N., the Sheriff of last year, who is deservedly popular, then took off his hat and saluted the people. He imagined that he could get a cheer which might be attributed to the Lord Lieutenant; but no, the people returned his salute by taking off their hats, but preserved their silence.

AGITATE! AGITATE! AGITATE!

Agitation did its work. Lord Cloncurry, addressing Staunton on October 9, 1830, from 'Beaudesert, Lichfield,' where he was the guest of Lord Anglesey, mentions a rather remarkable fact. 'I do not despair of some good being done for Ireland even this next Session. I have met some of the working men much in the Duke's³ confidence, and the subject even of a modification of the Union has been discussed by Ministers.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

14 Manchester Buildings, Westminster: 30th Octr. 1830.

My dear FitzPatrick,—These are times when it is hard for a man to find sincere and practical friends. In you I

¹ The Duke of Northumberland succeeded to the Viceroyalty, on the recall of Lord Anglesey, March 6, 1829, and held office until Anglesey returned to displace him, December

23, 1830.

² Killarney House.

³ The Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister.

have one, and I repeat that I hope that I will not die until I have some opportunity of shewing you how sincerely grateful I am.

I see that Mahony and Conway have brought that most miserable of miserable Dukes into play.⁴ But before now the scene is over. My letters deceive me, or there will be nothing mischievous adduced by the attempt. God help their precious skulls! Why, England is in a worse state than Ireland ever was since the fatal year of 1798.

*To Edward Dwyer.*⁵

London : Nov. 9th, 1830.

. . . The times are exceedingly critical ; this is just the period when good, wise, and considerate men should urge their claims for amelioration.

This is emphatically the moment to get as many places as possible to petition for the Repeal of the Union.

The successors of the Wellington administration, whoever they shall be, will not be able to resist the cry of the people if really raised. We shall see a daily progress towards the principle of democratic liberty. It is most important that those successors should be convinced that the Repeal of the Union is desired by all the people of Ireland, with the exception of a few paltry jobbers.

Tell this to every person who comes to the rooms. Let every man know from me that it is my decided opinion that we may have an Irish Parliament soon, if the voice of the Irish nation shall be expressed by petitions so numerous as to place beyond any doubt the anxiety of Ireland for that measure.

I do not say this lightly. I am convinced that what I say to you is of great importance to be attended to, and yet we are an *uncertain* race. Before Emancipation I saw

⁴ The Leinster Declaration against Repeal of the Union appeared in Conway's *Post* at this time, and is known to have been mainly inspired and framed by

Pierce Mahony. The Duke of Leinster led the van of names.

⁵ Secretary to the democratic meetings at Burgh Quay in Dublin.

that it would be necessary for us to have a rallying point for future struggles of the country. I was, therefore, very anxious to get a place for public meetings. The theatre in Great Brunswick Street was to be had very cheaply, but — and others disliked the owner, and I was overruled. Those who overruled me all promised to find another and a better place; they all saw the necessity of having a place for public meetings. We had funds *then*, but not a step was taken by anybody but me to get that other place. I failed entirely.

In fact, that theatre would now be quite a *treasure* for all kinds of useful agitation. At present the want of such a thing is severely felt, and each day it will be more and more so. Its utility would be constant.

Every parish in Dublin would certainly meet if they could but be certain of having the use of a proper meeting place. It is quite clear that the store in Stephen Street is suited, admirably suited, for the purpose; and now there is a fastidiousness about the street as not being *fashionable* enough, although it is within four or five minutes' walk of either Stephen's Green, College Green, or Dame Street. Where will those who reject that spot find another?

I am perfectly content to become tenant at once of any other provided it shall be found; but it would disgust any other man, save myself, from politics to find a practical measure of this sort abandoned, or postponed first and then abandoned, upon the score of a paltry fastidiousness respecting the situation of the place of meeting.

Is there any man who does not know that, but for getting the constant use of Clarendon Street Chapel, we never could have got up the Catholic Association? We cannot have chapels now.⁶ Why then should we not have a perpetual substitute?

I implore of all *real* anti-unionists to consider well of this, and to lay their best thoughts together to procure a

⁶ To free religion from penal bonds was esteemed a duty which might be performed in the house where bondsmen worshipped; but

when Emancipation was conceded, Rome issued a Rescript prohibiting the use of churches for political meetings.

comfortable and extensive place for public meetings. We cannot do without one.

Having thus vented my *spleen*, I come to the politics of the day.

Everybody says that the Duke of Wellington must resign; he will, however, cling to the office as long as he possibly can, and I am convinced nothing will induce Peel to quit his secretaryship but absolute necessity. Yet everybody insists that he must resign. I myself cannot see how it is possible for them to go on.

Now every change must be favourable. The new men are of necessity weak. It is calculated that the leaders of a new Cabinet will be Lords Grey and Lansdowne; as yet, however, I fancy that the resignation of Wellington has not been actually sent in.

Since I began this paragraph, however, I hear that the Marquis of Lansdowne is to be at the head of the *incomers*. *Nous verrons*. The riot last night was a mere tumult, easily put down by the police, though they are not armed; yet certainly the King's shrinking from going into the City is calculated to encourage the tumultuous in the interior parts of England.

There never was a more critical or important period, or one in which an extensive demand for the Repeal of the Union would have a better effect. I am now anxious to remain in Parliament; I think some good may be done in the House, or rather through the House. I am determined to *stick* to it as long as *I can*.

Nov. 6th, 1830.

You cannot conceive what a change has occurred already in the public mind here on the subject of the Repeal of the Union. It is not only *practicable*, but certain, if we persevere as we ought to do.

I intend to-morrow to write a letter on the subject of the expense of petitions. Get it printed. You know that I do not wish my letters to you to be printed.

As soon as I have any news to communicate you shall

again hear from me, but at present I am all anxiety to hear from Ireland.

If the people will keep quiet and allow me to regulate, I think I am certain of procuring the Repeal of the Union. This may be called vanity. Well, I *am* vain; I thought before I left Ireland that I was the best abused man in the world, but I now perceive that I have not received half the wages which are due to me for being the faithful and persevering friend of the people.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell had but to make a suggestion in any quarter not absolutely hostile to ensure its cordial reception, and when he dropped an idea on the impressionable mind of Primate Curtis it generally struck root.

The National system of education had not as yet been unfolded. Latterly the Prelates, viewing the schools of the endowed Kildare Place Society as engines of proselytism, had refused to co-operate with them. The celebrated letter of Mr. Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, inaugurating the system of National Education, is dated October 31, 1831. The Whig Cabinet of Earl Grey had now succeeded to power.

To Primate Curtis.

London: Novr. 26th, 1830.

My Lord,—I have had reason to think, *given me* by some who possess influence with the new administration, that there is a desire amongst a portion of the new members to divide the Kildare Place grant equitably between the Catholics and Protestants. I have also reason to believe that this object would be advanced if the Catholic Clergy, and especially the dignitaries of the Catholic Church in Ireland, were without delay to petition on this subject; that is, that on any future education grant of money care should be taken to apportion an adequate part to the education of Catholic children.

Petitions also from the laity would be useful for this purpose.

Should your Grace concur, I beg to suggest that those petitions should be sent to independent members rather than to men in power, who, in truth, wish to be driven into the measure by others rather than act spontaneously. Lord Killeen, Mr. Wyse, Mr. More O'Farrell, &c., would be most proper persons to present such petitions. Of course my humble services can be commanded by your Grace.

I should not trouble your Grace with this letter but that I have reason to believe that a strong exertion would secure the obtaining of this much of fair play for Ireland.

Lord Anglesea goes to Ireland with the best intentions. God grant he may alleviate, if he cannot cure, the national miseries.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Some persons, to whom the following letter was shown ere it passed into the hands of its present editor, regarded as in the highest degree peculiar the outlook which it reveals. O'Connell thought, in November 1830, that England and her 'Funds' were in imminent peril; but it appears that Wellington, with all his faith in that great power, and his cold calm of temperament, came to view things in much the same light. A letter of his, dated January 1, 1831, and printed in 'The Court and Cabinets of William IV.,' speaks of 'a sort of feverish anxiety in every man's mind about public affairs. No man can satisfy himself of the safety either of this country or himself.'⁷

*To George Kernan.*⁸

London : 27 Novr. 1830.

My dear Kernan,—I have settled the draft of the will. I have thought it necessary to give the trustees the most unlimited power to vest the property in private in contradistinction to public securities, simply because the aspect of the times is such that I begin to fear, or rather believe, that public securities will become of very little value. I

⁷ London, 1861, vol. i. p. 188.

Clerk of the Crown and Peace for
Dublin.

⁸ Mr. Kernan was a solicitor,
the father of Charles Kernan, now

should not be surprised if coming events prevented the payment of a great part of the interest of the debt called national. This being a strong feeling on my mind, I cannot avoid giving a choice to sell out to any trustees who may have public funds entrusted to them. There are no public news. The interior of England⁹ is in a frightful situation. I really do not know what remedy can be applied to stop the evil. The Irish appointments are not as yet fixed, but I am in great hope that they will be popular. I should not be surprised if our friend O'Loghlan was to be the Solicitor-General. I would not have my name mentioned as circulating this rumour, but I think *you* will be glad to hear that there is every prospect of this appointment being made.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A tempest of revolution was sweeping across Europe at this time. In France the King and Ministry had fled. On October 4, 1830, a provisional government decreed Belgium independent. Continental thrones rocked. The army of Brunswick was routed by the people. The palace was fired and its royal occupants put to flight. At Dresden the King of Saxony resigned his crown. Revolutions were hourly expected at Lisbon and Madrid. William IV. had arranged to dine at the Guildhall on November 9, but the Ministers decided to keep him at home. Curious letters on this point appear in the memoirs of Sir William Knighton. 'If firing had begun,' said Wellington, 'who could tell where it would end? I know what street-firing is—one guilty man would fall and ten innocent be destroyed.'

O'Connell's letter to Kernan was preceded by a public one, in which he advised a run upon the banks for gold. Many people misunderstood his startling utterances at the time, and amongst them was a man *who* signs himself, in the *Sirr Papers*,¹ 'Anthony Conwell, student of the

⁹ On January 9, 1831, sentence of death was passed on twenty-three persons for riot in Gloucester; at Norwich there were forty-five capital convictions, twenty-six at Petworth, and hundreds of others elsewhere in

England.

¹ Major Sirr was the Fouché of Dublin. The *Sirr Papers* are now preserved in the MS. room of Trinity College, Dublin.

King's Inn.' He tells Sirr that he is on terms of intimacy with O'Connell and Costello, and proposes to inform on the first, against whom, it is added, he has evidence of treason. On the back of Conwell's letter Mr. Attorney-General Blackburne writes a 'Mem.' to the effect that the name and address of the spy ought to be noted at Dublin Castle, in order that communication may be opened with him should his assistance be required.

To Edward Dwyer.

London : 29th Novr. 1830.

I approve of preparing for a procession to meet the Marquis of Anglesea on his return to the Viceroyalty of Ireland; and I should think that it would not be at all amiss, but very much the contrary, if Marcus Costello² were to head the procession.

Lord Anglesea, however, does not go over for at least another fortnight or three weeks, and there will be time enough to countermand the procession, should he be betrayed into making unpopular appointments in Ireland.

What I want to find out is, what is to be done for Ireland? They *say* a great deal—but what *is it*? Let me know that.

Such is my question. As to Spring Rice's 'nineteen Bills,' they may all be despatched in one word—*fudge*!

We shall soon see, I again fear, that the Marquis of Anglesea is getting into bad hands. The only good thing about him is his determination, which is fixed, to pack off the Gregorys³ etc. from the Castle.

I am sorry you had not 'Resolutions' at the last breakfast. The Government certainly will not meddle with any orderly public meeting. You know that Lord Anglesea's own letter to Mr. Kertland is quite a pledge upon that point; and I should have already put on its legs a new association, but that I wish to see the new Government actually under way, and the Duke of Northumberland out

² A prominent democrat, afterwards an Attorney-General.

³ Sir William Gregory was the Under Secretary.

of Ireland, before we form another, and arrange as to funds.

This alone prevents me from at once beginning. But, depend on it, I will *meet* Lord Anglesea and his new Government.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Edward Dwyer.

London : Wednesday, 1st December, 1830.

My present opinion is that it is better to let the Marquis of Anglesea come in quietly without any show or procession. I decidedly think the Anti-Unionists ought not to give him any *glorification*. This is the result of my deliberate judgment. Abandon, then, all thoughts of our friends joining in the procession, unless the people, against my advice, desire it.

If they do, let them be gratified : but mix the strongest Anti-Unionism with your honours.

The new Government of Ireland is being organised. These things are certain—that young Stanley⁴ goes to Ireland as Chief Secretary, and that Mr. Dogherty is out of office, and will not get *any* situation under the Government. I have reason to believe that Lord Plunket will be the new Chancellor.

Depend upon it, that the attempt to arrest the progress of Anti-Unionism will be a complete failure, as nothing solid or substantial for the good of the Irish people will, or indeed *can*, be done by these Ministers, or any British Ministers.

I am sincerely sorry to hear that 'the patriots' are so insensible to the necessity of having a place of meeting of their own. The store at the back of the premises affords such an opportunity of making an admirable place of meeting, that I am almost disgusted at the apathy, or *small* motives, which prevent its being used for that purpose.

⁴ Afterwards Earl of Derby and Prime Minister.

I will, if I can afford it, be myself at the expense of putting it into proper shape and form. We can never be independent until we have a place of our own to hold an 'aggregate meeting.' I was thrown out of the theatre in Brunswick Street by miserable jealousies.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Lord Anglesey, writing to Lord Cloncurry previous to his State entry into Dublin, says:—

'O'Connell is my *avant-courrier*. He starts to-day with more mischief in hand than I have yet seen him charged with. I saw him yesterday for an hour and a half. I made no impression upon him whatever, and I am now thoroughly convinced that he is bent upon desperate agitation. All this will produce no change in my course and conduct. For the love of Ireland I deprecate agitation. I know it is the only thing that can prevent her from prospering; for there is in this country a growing spirit to take Ireland by the hand, and a determination not to neglect her and her interests; therefore I pray for peace and repose.'

To Wm. Newton Bennett.

(Strictly confidential.)

31 December, 1830.

My dear Bennett,— . . . I have great reliance on your friendship as well as your judgment. But it is quite in vain for you to urge me to postpone the Union question . . .

Lord Anglesea and those by whom he is surrounded know nothing of Ireland. I now tell you to a certainty that nothing but the effect of my advice and influence keeps the people from violent courses. They all know that it is my decided conviction that they should not have recourse to force, and that I will forsake them if they resort to violence. But for this you would have already a speedy, but, of course, a sanguinary revolution.

Lord Anglesea sent for me and talked to me for two hours, to prevail on me to join the Government; he went so far as to discuss my private affairs in order to prevail on me to repair my fortunes!

Lord Brougham conveyed to me in most intelligible language that Doherty and an Irish lord brought me an untrue message from Lord Grey. They are *not to be relied on*.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The negotiators were varied and vivacious. A letter from O'Connell to his wife at this time, but which has been unfortunately mislaid by its late custodian, the Rev. J. A. Nolan, Kilbride, goes on to say that he had had a visit from Lady Glengall, who told him that he would be made a judge—'*anything, in fact, if he would give up the agitation.*' 'The underlined,' writes Mr. Nolan, 'are the exact words of the letter.' O'Connell adds that he never felt so much inclined to turn a lady out.⁵

O'Connell, on December 1, gleefully announces that Doherty was out of office, and would get no post under the new Government. His reappointment as Solicitor-General,⁶ and his elevation soon after as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, provoked a popular outcry. Although he once performed the private courtesy of writing to Canning, at the request of O'Connell, he latterly gave the Tribune much cause to complain, and seemed to be his personal enemy, as no doubt he was his troublesome opponent. (*Vide* letter of Sept. 24, 1829.)

'Things have now come to that pass,' writes Lord Anglesey to his wife, 'that the question is whether O'Connell or I shall govern Ireland.' Acting under the advice of his unpopular Law-officers, he now sought to grapple with O'Connell. Thereupon an eminent King's Counsel, named Wallace, addressed a note to the latter, in which, while he intimated his hostility to the democratic policy of the hour, he tendered him his professional assistance against

⁵ Raikes's *Journal* of May 1836 says that 'Lady Glengall had a masculine mind and was an excellent woman of business. She had been a celebrated beauty who, with Lady Clare and Lady Denny, were the reigning toasts in Dublin before the Union.' She was then Lady Cahir. Her son, Lord Glengall, a kinsman of the house of Ormonde, was an influential politician and orator.

(See letter of March 1, 1831, and sequel.)

⁶ This appointment was entirely due to Lord Grey, as I am informed by Mr. Doherty's son. A peerage was about to be conferred on him when he suddenly died of heart disease, consequent on the loss of all his property, which he had staked in speculation on the Stock Exchange.

the prosecution, and expressed an opinion that Lord Anglesey had violated both law and constitution in the case.

To Thomas Wallace, K.C.

Merrion Square: 19 January, 1831.

My dear Wallace,—Permit me at least this once to address you in terms which I exceedingly regret have ever been unusual between us. It shall not be my fault if they shall ever again be altered. I accept with pride and pleasure your manly and generous offer. I am deeply grateful for it. I am proud to have the support of a man who during a long and professional career, and in times of great subserviency, ever maintained the manly independence of his own character, and won his way to the highest station in forensic business, without any other means than those which liberality sanctioned, and professional and personal honour justified and dictated, and won that high station by the single exertion of professional talent and integrity. I am proud to have the support of a man whose reputation for learning in the criminal law stands second to none in the profession.—Believe me to be, with heartfelt gratitude,

Respectfully and affectionately,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell in a postscript added that the letter of Wallace was too valuable not to give it publicity. 'A friend of mine has it in his hand for that purpose.' Next day Wallace wrote to say that, on consideration, he thought it better not to publish his letter; he preferred that his sentiments should appear only on the trial, should the prosecutor be so unwise as to proceed.

To Thomas Wallace, K.C.

Merrion Square: 19th January, 1831.

My dear Sir,—I do not know whether I was ever more afflicted than I was at the receipt of your second letter. I left a copy of the first with my friend, who awaited my

son's return from your house ; and as the conversation with you implied no prohibition, but left me to act on my own sole responsibility, without, of course, involving you, he, in my absence, committed it this evening to the press. I was absent at a meeting at Grangegorm Lane, and the moment I returned and found your second letter before me I sent off to stop the press, but was a full hour too late. Dictate to me what I shall do now. I will in the newspapers take on myself the publication of the letter without your knowledge or consent ; I will exonerate you in the fullest and most satisfactory manner from any participation whatsoever in the publication ; in short, point out *anything* you wish, and I will do it ; and I implore you not to impute this to me as a fault, which I solemnly aver was, under the circumstances, a pure accident. Intreating your forgiveness, offering you all and every atonement in my power, believe me always

Your devotedly grateful

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

One irksome penalty which the publication of Wallace's letter entailed was a statement made by more than one journalist, namely, that he wrote it in dudgeon, because Lord Anglesey had not offered him the Attorney-Generalship or even a coif.

CHAPTER VII.

Excitement at white heat—'Liberator, say the word'—Arrest of O'Connell—Another Affair of Honour—The Traversers—300,000 Men ready to March on Dublin—Overtures from the Government—T. O'Mara—The Government outmanœuvred—Lord Duncannon's Election—Letters to him—Mr. Blackburne—Mr. Stanley—Victory in the House—The O'Connell Fund—Bishop Doyle again—Major Sirr—Electioneering Plans—Charles Bianconi—Further Letters to Lord Duncannon—Election Rows—Press Prosecutions—Reform—Conference at Lord Althorp's—Creation of New Peers—Home Rule under the British Crown—Trades Unions—Commotion in Paris—Reform Bill—Cessation of Tax-paying—Office offered to O'Connell—Renewed Correspondence with Lord Duncannon—Patent of Precedence—The Cholera—James Dwyer—'Times to try Men's Souls'—Massacre at Newtownbarry—O'Connell assaulted—Remigius Sheehan—Resignation of Ministers—O'Connell and *The Times*—'The Thunderer'—Sir A. Bradley King's Gratitude—Pat Costello.

BETWEEN O'Connell and Lord Anglesey a bitter warfare now raged. Both had drawn the sword, and neither was disposed to be the first to sheath it.

On January 19, 1831, excitement reached a white heat when the news was bruited that O'Connell had been arrested in his own house. Mr. John O'Connell, describing the arrest, designates as 'bludgeon-men' the officers who apprehended his father. Mr. Farrell, an old peace-officer, accompanied them, and on the plea of gout, requested O'Connell to ride in a hackney-coach, and not compel him to walk. 'I am sorry for your gout,' was the reply, 'but since the Lord-Lieutenant has chosen to arrest me as if I were a common housebreaker, the whole city shall know it; I must therefore walk.' 'The people were greatly excited,' proceeds the son, 'and by more than one tall fellow—particularly from among the butchers of Castle Market, several of whom had their cleavers under their coats—my father was assailed with, "Ah, Liberator, say the word; only let us at them." He saw that the excitement was at a dangerous height, and this determined him to consent to give

bail, his first intention having been to go to prison. Masses of people blocked the streets, and the doors of the police court had to be barricaded. Barrett, Steel, Lawless, Dwyer, and Reynolds were also placed under arrest.

After a long discussion between O'Connell and the magistrates, he entered into securities for £2,000. The Grand Jury found true bills. Meanwhile he published a letter in the *Freeman*, declaring the real object of the prosecution was to prevent his statement in Parliament against Tithes and the Legislative Union. This letter made severe reflections on the illegality of the prosecutions, and the Attorney-General obtained an attachment against the paper for a breach of privilege and interference with the course of justice. The indictment against the traversers contained thirty-one counts. Multitudes poured into Dublin, and the Government were in hourly dread of an outbreak.

*To Wm. Newton Bennett.*¹

Jan. 21, 1831.

My dear Bennett,—I did not answer your letter of the 4th. It contained menaces of danger to myself personally. Look at my conduct since, and see whether they have had any effect on me; but it is natural for those who deem a duel the proof of valour to suppose that he who refuses to fight a duel² must be timid. *You*, at least, should have known whether a threat of personal danger was likely to influence me.

The coming of Lord Anglesey to this country is just the most mischievous thing that could possibly have happened. He has enough of character to make him imagine that he can do mischief with impunity. He is driving the country, in spite of me, to rebellion. But he shall not if *I* can prevent it. Believe me, the Whigs are deceiving you. Deceit is their motto. For myself, I will have nothing to do with them. I do, however, think that such a plan as you suggest might be realised. But it will not; nay, it is morally im-

¹ Mr. (afterwards Chief Justice) Bennett, the life-long friend of O'Connell, was much in the confidence of Whig statesmen, and often formed the medium through which communications with the Great Agi-

tator passed. What the 'plan' or 'scheme' was I have been unable to discover.

² The papers of Mr. Bennett throw no light on this duel.

possible to bring it about, because nothing could be done until the Proclamations are withdrawn, and the prosecution given up. Yet your scheme is in its nature practicable; but there are no men to do it. Anglesey is hair-brained: he knows nothing. I saw at once that he intended his popularity as a weapon to strike down Ireland. But it is no matter.

The Ministry are not aware of the true state of the country. The horrible game of rousing Orange prejudices again in the North has been resorted to by the Government with some success: but are you aware of the result? The Orangemen are determined not to pay either rents or tythes. There is, in fact, a successful rebellion in the North. The rest of the country is ready to burst into action. It is with the greatest difficulty it can be restrained. If not so restrained, and if my advice and repeated injunctions had not weight, at least three hundred thousand men would before now have attacked Dublin. The Proclamations have set the people wild. It is unnecessary for me to add that I would never accept of any personal favour, and I am very apprehensive that they mean to *delude* and deceive me.

Yours ever,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To T. O'Mara.

22nd January, 1831.

My dear O'Mara,—I do most anxiously wish to confer with Lords Meath and Cloncurry on the present awful position of public affairs, and the possibility of calming the public mind. I would wish that this desire of mine should be communicated to their Lordships in the manner most respectful to them both, and to each of them individually.

I have had a communication with a person in the confidence of the Ministry, in England, but whose name I cannot disclose, who states distinctly that all the Ministry desire is to postpone the Union question, until those of reform, abolition of corporate monopoly, and reformation of Church abuses are disposed of, thus leaving 'the Union' for the last.

I think this may be done by Lord Cloncurry and Lord Meath, in such a manner as to carry with them the public mind, preserving only just so much, or rather so little, of popular agitation, as would *continue* the confidence of the people in the prospect of legitimate redress ; such prospect being, in my mind, the only mode of preventing violence and outrage, and *probable* rebellion. I think that Lords Meath and Cloncurry are the only persons in Ireland who can *certainly* save us all from scenes too horrible to be thought of, but which will be accelerated by shutting the eyes to their imminent and approaching danger.

I would wish respectfully to offer my assistance to Lords Cloncurry and Meath : they should have that assistance cordially and sincerely. I would either appear prominent or stay in the background, precisely as they wished. I would either agitate with them, or leave the entire and exclusive management of the necessary quantity of salutary agitation to them. I think I could give them much aid ; and I am most desirous of throwing into their hands the full direction of all the influence which I may possess, whatever that be. In short, I would desire to converse with them on these subjects ; and if I be wrong in any of my views of the present position of affairs in Ireland, there are no men living whose mature judgments could have more influence over mine. I would also be glad to communicate to them all the facts that have come to my knowledge respecting the state of popular feeling.

In fine, I am deeply convinced that Lords Meath and Cloncurry have it in their power to put themselves at the head of the popular party in Ireland, and to do more good to the country, and prevent more evil, than any two persons ever had before.

I need not add that no part of this correspondence, nor any communication that may follow, shall ever be disclosed, save by their direction ; it being understood that an honorable secrecy is the basis of our meeting.

I am, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Mr. O'Mara, enclosing the letter to Lord Cloncurry, writes: 'I may say with Dan, "that the fate of the country is in your hands."' He adds, 'I never witnessed anything so turbulent and angry as the populace were in Dublin this day, not even in the height of '98.' And he assures him that, come what might, 'while I can draw a sword or a trigger,' Lord Cloncurry would find him his fast friend.³ This was not the only time in O'Connell's career when he stood scared to see the monster that he himself had raised.

Lords Meath and Cloncurry met O'Connell as requested, and received his assurance that he was the more willing to cease agitation in consequence of a letter he had received from a man high in the confidence of ministers, declaring their intention to do this session everything for Ireland short of 'Repeal, provided he would give up the question for the present.' He therefore proposed to his noble visitors that he was prepared to use his influence in allaying the present ferment provided they would join 'the Society for the Improvement of Ireland' and there discuss the Reform, the Church, and the Corporation questions; that they should promote county 'Reform meetings' and pledge themselves to the future support of the Repeal. They declined giving this engagement and the matter dropped.

Lord Duncannon and O'Connell were old friends. This peer had been always a consistent advocate of Liberal progress, and when, as Earl of Bessborough, he became Viceroy of Ireland in 1846, his intercourse with the Tribune was renewed. He was now a member of Lord Grey's Administration, and had represented in successive Parlia-

³ Tom O'Mara, familiarly known as 'T. O.,' was a connection of O'Connell's, and famous as a duellist. Mr. O'Flanagan, an old member of the Irish Bar, informs us that this reputation for ball practice obtained him lucrative engagements as conducting agent during the contested elections in Ireland. He perfectly understood what the unusually large retaining fee meant, and took his measures accordingly. Observing a brother practitioner leaving his post in a hurry, O'Mara inquired where he was going.

'To my lodgings for my pistols,' was the response.

'Oh!' exclaimed the more experienced practitioner, 'I always keep mine under the poll lists.'

He was conducting agent for a parsimonious candidate who was severely spoken of by an opposing elector. The candidate was called 'a renegade in religion, a dishonest politician, and as disloyal to his country as to his creed.'

'Do you hear that?' asked the would-be member, white with rage.

'Every word,' replied O'Mara.

'And don't you mean to notice it?'

'Most certainly not. Your fee, sir, was not a fighting fee.'

ments the county Kilkenny. On Lord Duncannon's acceptance of office his seat, of course, became vacant, and great exertions were made to defeat his re-election upon the ground that he was opposed to 'Repeal of the Union.' The Hon. Colonel Butler, who declared himself a 'Repealer,' was put forward by the popular party.

*To Wm. Newton Bennett.*⁴

[Jan. 1831.]

Lord Duncannon must expect opposition if the prosecutions go on. I have arranged materials for a powerful opposition, and I believe he will find it a hard task to succeed, coming forward in the shape of one of my prosecutors. I write this to you that you may, if you think fit, give a hint of this peril to the present flippant and false Ministry.⁵ I do not mean to go to war with them unnecessarily, but if the prosecutions be not forthwith withdrawn, I will be obliged to give Lord Duncannon a violent Contest, and perhaps a complete defeat. He never was half so powerful in Kilkenny as Vesey Fitzgerald was in Clare.

But why should I annoy you with more, as I write this with the sole view of your being able to show that the Ministry themselves have an interest in the extinction of Lord Anglesey's most insulting prosecutions.

Let me tell you for your private satisfaction, that if they do not most grossly pack the jury they have no chance of a conviction. The Attorney-General is bothered. I write hastily, and think I console myself for the feeling of ingratitude to Lord Duncannon by giving this warning. *Valeat quantum.*

The trial will certainly last an entire week. We have eight speeches, besides a host of witnesses, and then there are the speeches and the witnesses for the Crown.

P.S.—Since I wrote the above, notice of trial has been served !!!

⁴ William Newton Bennett had been a member of the Directory of United Irishmen in 1798. (See Daunt's *Recollections of O'Connell*, vol. i. p. 99.)

⁵ O'Connell even explained the immense staff of attorneys and command of money which he could bring to the contest.

They are making a mere tool of you in order to delude me and throw me off my guard.

Yours ever,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Mr. Attorney-General Blackburne.

Merrion Square : February 11th, 1831.

Sir,—The public and private information which I have received from London this day impresses on me very strongly the necessity of my attendance in Parliament in discharge of my duties there. So urgent does that necessity appear to me, that I take the liberty of stating it to you, with as much of request as may be consistent with your official situation, that the trial of myself and the other gentlemen may stand over until the next term, provided there be nothing in such postponement inconsistent with your views of the interests of the Crown and the public. All the traversers concur in this wish, but it is one which I express only in one case, namely, that you see nothing in the delay inconsistent with what your office demands from you in the most rigid performance of your duty. I have only further to add that it is totally unnecessary for you to send any written reply to the letter. Indeed, I do not desire any other than a mere signification by the Crown Solicitor to my law agent, either that duty *allows* or *forbids* you to comply. I owe you an apology for this intrusion : that apology is to be found only in my conviction that my duty to my constituents requires my presence at this time in the House of Commons.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.⁶

The Attorney-General in reply declared that he could not suspend the Prosecution for an instant ; for that, by doing so, the Government would forfeit the confidence and support which its vigorous assertion of the law had procured for it. Mr. Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, privately

⁶ *Life of Francis Blackburne*, by Edward Blackburne, Q.C.

wrote to the Attorney-General expressing satisfaction that 'We have O'Connell so far at our mercy.'⁷ O'Connell's offence consisted in holding political meetings contrary to the Lord-Lieutenant's proclamation. The indictments against him contained sixteen counts—two for an offence at common law, and fourteen for the violation of the statute. He never was brought up for judgment.

To Richard Barrett.

Wolverhampton : 16th Feb. 1831.

My dear Barrett,—You will see by the papers that Mr. Stanley has fully confirmed my statement, that there was no species of compromise of a political nature connected with the late law arrangement. He, however, does not seem to have stated that arrangement at all. No matter. I will, please God, set that part of the business fully to rights on Friday evening in the Honourable House.

But Mr. Stanley is also reported to have said that I had solicited, by my friends, a compromise of the prosecution ; whereupon, it is stated, he was cheered by all sides of the House. I do not believe, or at least I ought not to believe, one word of it, because a greater untruth could not be told. It follows that he did not say so. Does it not ?

I beg of you to contradict the report in the strongest terms. Nothing could be more false than that I ever

⁷ Blackburne watched O'Connell with a lynx eye. In one of the stirring public letters which the Tribune threw off at this period, he allowed some language to escape which the Crown pronounced libellous. The letter appeared in the *Morning Register*, and Staunton, its proprietor, was formally served with the legal document usual on such occasions. O'Connell not wishing at that juncture to encumber his Parliamentary career, and the course of Agitation by the trammels of a Government prosecution, Staunton accepted temporarily the onus of the alleged libel. O'Connell's great object was to gain time, and he pledged himself that Staunton should

not be a final sufferer. The following memorandum of an interview with O'Connell was drawn up by Staunton and signed by the late editor of the *Evening Post*, and James Strathern Close, B.L. :—

'He pledged himself that I should not be a final sufferer—that he would pay all expenses—that he would be ready to stand in my shoes on the first day of next term—that if I was in jail then he would come forward to liberate me, either by an avowal in open court or by an affidavit stating that "I am the author of the letter, let this man out of jail." He also promised to pay the expenses of re-registry.

'Feb. 9, 1831.'

solicited a compromise of the Prosecution by any friend whatever.

I will state this fully in the House on Friday. Until then, do you contradict the report emphatically.

How I long to hear of Colonel Butler's success in Kilkenny. If he succeeds you will have more anti-Unionists amongst the Irish members than we will know what to do with.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I will be, I hope, to-morrow evening in the House, to vote for the Jews, if there be a Division.

Lord Duncannon, wishing to preserve his seat, is said to have used his influence, as a member of the Government, in making innocuous the dreaded prosecution. Yet this popular man and friend of liberal progress narrowly escaped defeat. After a contest of six days, Lord Duncannon was re-elected by a majority of sixty-one. It is curious to note that Bishop Doyle, who co-operated with O'Connell in the struggle for Emancipation, differed from nearly all his brother Bishops in deprecating the agitation of 1831. Writing to Sir H. Parnell on March 8 in that year, he says that 'everything should be done to gain O'Connell; for from what occurred lately at Kilkenny, I am convinced that he has the power of disturbing the peace, and totally deranging the affairs of this country. Lord Duncannon would, without doubt, have lost his election if the priests had not been withheld from opposing him; and I think, from what I heard and saw in Kilkenny, where I spent the last week with Dr. Kinsella,⁸ that at the next election they would there, and probably elsewhere, burst through the hands of the Bishop.'⁹ And Lord Darnley is told, 'Were

⁸ Dr. Kinsella, who attacked O'Connell in 1825 (p. 113, *ante*), was now Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, a diocese which embraced Kilkenny.

⁹ The papers of the late Knight of Kerry contain a letter from Lord Anglesey also throwing light on the state of political feeling at this time:—

'I wish I could dare to give you a favourable report of the aspect of affairs here, but I am sorry to say that I have no encouragement to do so. It is true that the great cause of Ireland's misery is in some respect subdued. O'Connell embarked for England this afternoon, not venturing to await the judgment of the Court upon his pleas. By this he

I found in opposition at this moment to O'Connell, I should be deserted by the men of my own household.'¹

Blackburne was no party to O'Connell's escape. Referring to the dissolution of Parliament, Blackburne's biographer writes: 'It is plain that a stroke of policy so suddenly and so secretly decided upon was not communicated to the Irish Government, and that the Attorney-General, at the time that he assented to a postponement of the motion until the following May, was in complete ignorance of the state of affairs on the other side, and of the necessity of having O'Connell at once called up for judgment.'

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

London: 1st March, 1831.

My dear Barrett,—There is but one thing cruel in the discussion last night. I had as decided a victory as ever was gained.² You have no notion how I scattered the Philistines. I really, and without exaggeration, *put down the House*. I will endeavour to make out some amendment of the report, and send it to you by coach or post to-morrow. I will help you to some part, if not the whole. But rely on it that I had a compleat victory. The *Morning Chronicle* gives my reply tolerably. Yours in haste,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

forfeits his recognisances, himself in £1,000, his sureties in £500 each, or, if he returns, there is no doubt he will be committed.'—*The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to the Right Hon. M. Fitzgerald, M.P.* Dublin: January 31, 1831.

¹ *Life, Times, and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle*, vol. ii. pp. 236-274.

² Mr. Stanley was stated to have said that O'Connell's friends had applied to the Government offering to make some compromise as regards the pending prosecution. On February 28, O'Connell declared in the House that no friend of his, with any authority from him, or to his knowledge, had ever made such an application; but he thought it right to say that persons who represented themselves as authorised by the Crown had made overtures to

him. He then asked whether any such application had been made in his name; and if so, what was the name of the person who made the application.

Mr. Stanley replied that a proposition for a compromise written by Mr. Maurice O'Connell had been brought to the Castle by Lord Gleggall and Mr. Bennett. O'Connell admitted that Mr. Bennett had written to him on behalf of the Government and made a proposition which was much in his favour, but he (O'Connell) wrote back refusing to accede to the terms.—Condensed from the report in the *Dublin Evening Post* of March 5, 1831.

In a MS. letter addressed to one of the above negotiators, O'Connell writes: 'For myself I want nothing, but for Ireland much.'

Bishop Doyle had long and ably sought to procure a legal provision for the Irish poor. O'Connell objected to Poor Laws, which, he thought, were calculated to dry up the fount of private bounty.

To Bishop Doyle.

London : 29th March, 1831.

My Lord,—You have convinced me—your pamphlet on the necessity of making a legal provision for the destitute Irish poor has completely convinced me. The candour and distinctness with which you state the arguments against that provision, and the clear and satisfactory manner in which you have answered and refuted those arguments, have quite overpowered my objections, and rendered me an unwilling, but not the less sincere, convert to your opinions. I candidly acknowledge that you have done more—you have alarmed me lest, in the indulgence of my own selfishness as a landowner, I should continue to be the opponent of him who would feed the hungry and enable the naked to clothe themselves.

My Lord, I am much pressed in point of time, but I feel it imperative on me to announce this my conversion, with a view to endeavour to render it useful. I am not an admirer of that species of conviction which contents itself with mere mental gratification. You will not be surprised that I do not estimate too highly the value of 'faith without works,' and you will, therefore, be prepared to find me ready to endeavour to realise that which I believe to be salutary to the people—the poor people of Ireland.

The scenes which you have *actually* witnessed—the misery which you have *actually* beheld—the woe which you have *actually* wept over—the famishing children—the starving parent—the perishing youth—the young blood running cold, chilled by penury—the aged sinking into the grave under the pressure of hunger—avaricious cruelty thinning the folds of their population, and starvation filling the churchyards with emaciated victims!—I cannot, my Lord, endure to look at the picture you have drawn from

the life, and strewed with real dead. I will not bear it without at least a struggle, and now I offer myself—all that I have of energy and perseverance—to the cause which you support and ornament—the cause of the poor, the destitute, the famishing—the cause of the unjustly afflicted man—the cause—am I at liberty to say it without profaneness?—the cause of God. . . .

During the continued struggle the people are scarcely heard crying for bread, and there is none to break it to them. Let us, my Lord, attend to their cry, and whilst we pursue, as reason and conviction may dictate, our respective views of other measures for national relief, let us combine, as well as we can, good men of every party, sect and persuasion, to afford relief to the aged, the sick, the destitute, and the famishing.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 13th April, 1831.

My dear Fitz,—I am in a great passion with you, and it is not easy to put me into a rage with you. But see whether I have not cause of quarrel with you. You are one of three who promised to call at the offices of the *Register*, *Freeman*, and *Pilot*, and to get the papers sent to me beginning with Saturday last. I told you, and you promised to give in my address—'House of Commons,' London. I expected to have found Saturday's papers before me on my arrival, and to have got the newspapers of Monday this day, but not one paper has arrived. Do you know that it gives me a sensation of sickness to be thus disappointed? I have no intelligence from Ireland save what I pick up from the miserable gleanings of the scoundrel English press.

I spoke often and *rather well*, 'ipse loquitur,' in the House last night, on various topics, especially on the Union and Jury Bill, but I am badly, very badly reported.

I am, however, too mortified to write more this day. Will you *atone* for this, your first offence, by going to the

offices and giving *them* a good scolding? See whether you could get the missing papers sent me.—Believe me to be, with great sincerity, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

An important correspondence with Lord Duncannon, throwing light on the political history of the time, now begins, and I am indebted for this acquisition to his son, the Earl of Bessborough.

From the year 1805, when Lord Duncannon entered Parliament, he proved himself the friend of all liberal measures. Inquiry, Economy and Reform received his support, while Ireland had special cause to thank him for a cordial devotion to her interests. On the subject of Catholic Emancipation he was exceedingly warm. When Canning decided not to make it or Parliamentary Reform Cabinet questions, we are told that Lords Spencer and Duncannon were 'furious against him.'³ With the former peer Duncannon was closely connected; also with Lords Bathurst, Melbourne, Westmoreland, and Shaftesbury. His high principles and amenity of manner won him many friends, and few men had more influence in Parliament or out of it.

The esteem in which even strong Conservatives held him was shown in 1847 by the cordial testimony borne to his worth by Lord Roden in the Upper House, and by Messrs. Lefroy and Shaw in the Commons.⁴

Lord Duncannon had long maintained friendly relations with O'Connell; and when, on the accession of the Whigs to power in 1831, he obtained high office, 'the Agitator' pronounced it to be 'the harbinger of peace to Ireland, and of honour and dignity to the Administration.'

Lord Duncannon to O'Connell.

London: April 27, 1831.

My dear Sir,—I have just heard that I have a contest in the county of Kilkenny. I have talked so openly to

³ *Diary and Correspondence of Lord Colchester*, vol. iii. p. 486.

⁴ Lord Roden was Grand Master of the Irish Orangemen. The *Standard*, in recording the death of

Lord Duncannon, said, 'No member of the Whig Party was regarded by political opponents with warmer affection, probably none with an affection so warm.'

you on those subjects that I can have no difficulty in saying to you that I am anxious not to be taken away from hence for a longer time than is necessary, as great exertions are needed here against the opposers of the Bill, and my presence is necessary. I have no right to dictate to a large Co. in the choice of their representative, but for this particular case it is very desirable to support the supporters of Reform. This I am sure is your opinion, and at all events I hope that your friends will not assist an opposition on this occasion. Col. Butler, I am told, considers himself pledged to stand. If you should hear anything on this subject you will much oblige me by letting me hear from you. The accounts from the country here are excellent, but the opposers of the Bill are very vehement and determined in their opposition. Pray let me hear what is likely to occur in Waterford and in the northern counties.

Believe me, &c.,

DUNCANNON.

To Lord Duncannon.

Brooke's: Sunday.
[April 1831.]

My Lord,—Sharman Crawford is the man for Down.⁵ I believe communication has been already made to him. He is one of the most suitable men in Ireland to be in Parliament. I believe Lord George⁶ has but a poor prospect in Waterford. I understand from Sir Richard Musgrave that he has *none at all*—Sir Richard's expression that he cannot appear at the hustings.

I believe we have at least one good man for Longford—Nugent of Donore. I have written to him.⁷

I have also made an arrangement to take a fair chance for two reformers in Dublin; *but* we would certainly succeed if the Irish Government acted with vigour. *Tell them that*

⁵ W. Sharman Crawford did not come forward until the General Election of 1832. He will be generally found in opposition to O'Connell.

⁶ Lord George Beresford and O'Connell represented Waterford in

1830. Lord George's successor in 1831 was Sir R. Musgrave, Bart.

⁷ Sir Percy Nugent, Bart., of Donore, did not come forward for Longford, unless as High Sheriff. From 1847 to 1852 he represented Westmeath.

they have Dublin in their power—unless they allowed themselves to be insulted *by their own servants*, for the police officers make them servants of any and every administration. If two or three police justices were dismissed for their recent conduct, and Corporators friendly to Government appointed in their stead, it would terrify the rest and effectually prevent them from opposing the reforming candidates.⁸ But if the administration will not show *vigour* against their real enemies, why, who can be of use to them?

I do not know much of Londonderry County, but I entertain hopes of frightening both members,⁹ if not doing more against one of them. Monaghan ought to give one at least favourable. Lord Rossmore's son¹ might be the man.

I go off after post. More to-morrow.

Believe me, &c.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Reform was the object now most dear to Lord Duncannon's heart; and Lord Durham, when preparing the Bill to effect it, received from him very valuable aid.

To Lord Duncannon.

Merrion Square: 27th April, 1831.

My Lord,—On arrival here this day, I of course proceeded at once to business, and I am happy to say that every thing has as favorable an aspect as one could almost wish.

1st. Dublin City. We have already our reforming candidate in the field, and I hope before to-morrow evening we

⁸ Town-Major Sirr, the famous terrorist of 1798, was appointed a police magistrate in 1808, and earned the Duke of York's public eulogy. Dr. Madden, in his *United Irishmen* (i. 480), says that when the Whigs came into power Sirr shaped his politics to those of the existing Government. When Reform began to be talked of at the Castle, he became a Reformer, and attended a public meeting in Dublin on the successful issue of the French Revolution in 1830. 'When there was nothing to be got or gained by sup-

porting the ascendancy,' adds Madden, 'the Major voted for Mr. O'Connell.' He died in 1841, and his remains were consigned to St. Werburgh's, Dublin, where Lord Edward Fitzgerald, whom he arrested and shot in 1798, also sleeps. (See p. 235, where Sirr provides the Attorney-general with the name of a man ready to spy upon O'Connell.)

⁹ Sir Robert Bateson, Bart., and Captain Jones, R.N.

¹ Hon. Henry Westenra stood for Monaghan Co. in 1832, but did not succeed. In 1835 he was returned.

shall have another ; and success is certain if the Government support their friends as they ought to do. For example, Alderman Tyndal and other police magistrates opposed violently the Reform Bill ; they would not have dared to do so under the late Government if that or any other measure had the support of that Ministry. Now if this Alderman was removed from the police, and another person who voted for reform on the Board of Aldermen substituted for him, it would have a decisive effect. I do not know Tyndal personally, but I have heard he is just the man who is suited to be thrown overboard. One energetic step of this kind secures the Corporation interest, especially if aided by some small favours conferred on 'Judkin Butler' and one 'Sutter,' both *agitators* of the common council, whose assistance in canvassing might be, I think, easily procured. I will see both Lord Plunket and, if I can, Lord Anglesey on these subjects and *others* to-morrow. I have put myself in communication with the former already.

2d. Kilkenny. I saw Col. Butler² himself this day. You are, I suppose, already apprised that you have no need to *think* of the election or to come over.

3d. Carlow. As yet in doubt, but there must be a contest against Kavanagh.³

4th. Longford. Col. White's brother—his name is Luke⁴—starts as a reformer with the fairest prospects of success. He *has* 50 votes, there are 150 Catholics who will vote with him to a man, about 20 independent Protestants who support him as a Reformer, and 255 would secure a majority. He *has money*, and is determined to succeed. Nugent, of Down, of a respectable Catholic family, will, I trust, be the second candidate, and two can succeed as easily as one.

5th. Wexford. My accounts are very favorable. I

² Pierce Butler, who lately opposed Lord Duncannon for Kilkenny, Colonel of the Kilkenny Militia, son of Lord Montgarret. Born 1774, died 1846.

³ Thomas Kavanagh of Borris had conformed from the Roman Catholic to the Protestant Church.

In 1831 he was succeeded as M.P. for Carlow County by Sir Milley Doyle.

⁴ Luke White, of Racline, sat for Longford almost continuously until 1842. He died unmarried, and his brother Henry was created Lord Annaly.

think Lord Valentia has no chance ; but I will put a spoke in his wheel capable of retarding him even in a favorable career. I fortunately possess, by mere accident, the power of doing so.⁵

6th. Wexford town *declares* a determination to put out Dauny,⁶ though not determined who to put in. I do not, therefore, reckon much (to-day) on this, but hope for more distinct news to-morrow.

7th. One of the first in my thoughts, WATERFORD. My Election is, I am told, secure ; but I should like a hint to the Powers⁷ of Clashmore to have their voters go with the Duke of Devonshire's as to *both* votes. Can you do anything to get Lady Cremorne's interest ? The next and most important point is to put out Lord George.⁸ I may walk over the course with him, but this is a crisis in which I prefer a contest. The Sheriff is what we call a 'terrible Tory.' Only think that he is already, as I am assured, fitting up the gaol to hold the *freeholders* of the Beresfords, and it is intended to break open a passage thence into an adjoining store for the voters to pass in and out. This is an use to which a gaol should not be put, and no person has a right to break its walls. The sheriff *should* be prohibited from interfering in any such way, and if he *perseveres* in refusing to promise not to do so, he should be superseded, and Villiers Stuart or John Musgrave, or some other gentleman of high character, appointed Sheriff in his place. *Besides*, we do not want any increase of army or police during the election. I will answer with my head for the perfect peace of the county. The army or police can be *useful* only to overawe the popular electors and candidate.

⁵ George Annesley, Viscount Valentia, of Bletchington Park, Oxfordshire. Born 1793, died 1841. He had been returned for Wexford County in 1830, but in 1832 was displaced by Shapland Carew, created a peer in 1834.

⁶ The members for Wexford Town in 1831 were William Wigram and Charles Arthur Walker.

'Dauny' is an Irish epithet of contempt for a mannikin. Walker was always popular.

⁷ The Powers of Clashmore are now represented by the Earl of Huntingdon. Power was returned with Villiers Stuart at the great Waterford Election in 1826.

⁸ Lord George Beresford.

8th. I have the satisfaction to tell you that we have got a reformer for Kerry. Certainly either my brother or Mr. Bernard, of Ballynagar. The latter is a most suitable Candidate; he would give place to my brother if I could get him to stand; but, at all events, we are sure of turning out the Knight.⁹ No man deserves such a fate better.

9th. Drogheda. Wallace is *certain* of sending North adrift; this is beyond a doubt. Wallace supports the whole Bill.¹

Keep Lord Anglesey and Lord Plunket as well as you possibly can to the sticking point. If the Irish Government supports the Reformers properly their success will be most exhilarating. I send as yet nothing of Clare. — intends to contest it with my son; but his resources of bribery are exhausted. My son would give up the County, but that the organization, become so frightful in that county, is, I fear and *believe*, much to be attributed to his antagonist. Of this more in my next. I weary you.

Respectfully and faithfully yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Lord Duncannon.

Merrion Square: 29th April, 1831.

My Lord,—I must write, I fear, incoherently, but *the business* presses.

1st. You are before now certain that there will not be a contest in Kilkenny.² Col. Butler *put* the compliment on me of having declined in consequence of my letter to him. But I am too candid to do so by you. All, however, is safe in that quarter.

2dly. Waterford, and the turning out of Lord George. I am sacrificing everything to the extinction of *that* political enemy; but why talk now of myself? Winston Barron is the only second candidate we can get; but he is unpopular

⁹ Daniel O'Connell himself was returned for Kerry, *vice* the Knight of Kerry.

¹ Thomas Wallace, K.C., displaced J. H. North, LL.D. Fine

studies of both men appear in Curran's *Sketches of the Irish Bar*.

² Lord Duncannon represented the county Kilkenny.

and a Catholic. *Two Catholics* would raise an adverse Protestant cry. Now for our plan. We have fixed on Mr. Lamb.³ The terms are these: Mr. Lamb to stand with me for the county. *All his expenses shall be borne.* To that I pledge myself. Winston Barron to get Dungarvan. If Mr. Lamb be not returned for the county, Winston Barron⁴ takes the Chiltern Hundreds, and Mr. Lamb gets Dungarvan without *any* contest. This may also throw me out of the county, in which case Barron equally resigns and I consider myself decidedly entitled to Dungarvan, Lamb *being* the county member. Consider all these terms as certain, and act upon them as such. I pledge myself to their literal performance.

With Mr. Lamb as the popular candidate, Mr. Power, of Clashmore, will vote for him *heartily*. The parsons who *belong* to the Duke would have an excuse for voting against Barron and me. I do not want them. But they will not be able to refuse voting for Mr. Lamb. I reckon on a difference of forty votes at the least in favour of Mr. Lamb which Winston Barron would not get, and which will be decisive of the Election.

3dly. We want two additional Magistrates in the City of Waterford. The Lord Lieut. has power to name them under the 7th G. 4th c. 61. The election takes place in the city of Waterford. We want Magistrates who will take care that the *peace shall not be broken by the paid conservators!!!* The case for more magistrates under the Act is perfect. I propose Roger Hayes, Esq., a retired barrister, living in Waterford, with a fortune of at least £1,500 per ann., and James Esmonde, Esq., worth more than £1,000 per ann., both Magistrates of the County. It is essential I should have a letter directing this to be done, if that be our usual course.⁵

³ Hon. George Lamb, M.P. for the borough of Dungarvan, joint Home Secretary under the Grey Administration. He was the brother of Lord Melbourne, who had married in 1824 Lord Duncannon's sister,

Lady Caroline Ponsonby, author of 'Glenarvon,' 'Ada Reis,' &c.

⁴ Winston Barron was created a baronet by Lord Melbourne.

⁵ Lord Duncannon was Lord Lieutenant of the county.

I deserve to be assisted to do good. I have Kerry at my hand without one shilling expense. I prefer a contest with a chance of sinking into a borough member, because I see a prospect of destroying an interest adverse to the Reform Bill.

If Mr. Lamb can come over, the sooner the better. We will be prepared with a requisition to him to stand.

Wallace, on whom I relied for Drogheda, I hear is doing only mischief. There are some men born with heads that see all matters upside down and act accordingly. However, do not despair. There *shall* be a *popular* contest.⁶

I can write no more this day, but, like all projectors, I think my Waterford scheme perfect, and have all the materials *at our side* for carrying it into effect.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Dungarvan.—I have seen Dominick Ronayne. All is safe for Mr. Lamb. He need not come over.

To Sir J. M. Doyle, K.C.B.

Merrion Square: 29th April, 1831.

My dear Sir John,—I am very happy to hear that you are about to join Sir Thomas Butler in contesting the County of Carlow on Reform principles. I have expressed to many my most anxious wish to be able to contribute in any way to his success, as I am convinced it would be a national good to have him returned. I say this to excuse my not putting you in the front rank, where you always liked to be. But if I can under those circumstances be of any use to you in Carlow as a second candidate, or in any *disengaged* place as the first candidate, you will not only command my best exertions but afford me great pleasure. I am convinced you will be as true in the Senate as you were gallant in the field, and that we shall together dis-

⁶ 'A popular contest' there was, and Carew O'Dwyer, an able member of the late Catholic Association, sent Wallace adrift. O'Dwyer was

appointed to a high post in the Exchequer, and enjoyed to his death a pension of near £3,000 a year.

comfit the Tories and gain the victory for the King and the Ministry on the great Reform measure.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Brother.

Merrion Square : 2d May, 1831.

My dear, dear John,—You never will repent what you have done, come good come evil; you [torn] and I never will reproach you or repine. You will see my address in the *Pilot* of this evening. I had an address to the County of Waterford actually in print when your letter and the Tralee paper arrived. You must now instantly begin to work.⁷ You must ransack the county. Speak to the Bishop. Engage every voter. Write every Priest. Send Maurice and Charles Brennan in every direction where a voter can be had. Write to James⁸ to come home at once and assist us. Do not deceive yourself as to my majority. Remember every promise you get makes a difference of two. Recollect (it is the only thing I shall remind you of) that, as you have made me throw away Waterford, you are bound to help me in Kerry.

I leave this to-morrow for Limerick, but I can not start early. In consequence of that I will not be in Limerick until the next day, Thursday, and then I must give my poor Maurice one day in Clare. That is Friday. I therefore cannot be in Tralee until Sunday.

I suppose the Members of the Chamber of Commerce will become my Committee. If proper arrangements can [be] made the expense will be as nothing. How I shall long to see your letter to Limerick! Write to everybody in my name or as Chairman of my Committee.

With warmest love to all your People, believe me ever your most affect. Brother,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ John O'Connell had taken steps to ensure the election of his brother Dan as M.P. for Kerry. Possibly he thought by so doing to hold his ardour in check. See note to letter of July 25, 1830. One letter,

for which Blackburne threatened to prosecute O'Connell, was addressed 'To the Constituents of Waterford.'

⁸ His brother, afterwards Sir James O'Connell, Bart.

*To Charles Bianconi.*⁹

(Most private, most confidential.)

Limerick : 6th May, 1831.

My dear Bianconi,—You will hear with indignation as well as surprise that Lord Kenmare has turned against me in Kerry. Having given up Waterford, and being now doubtful in Kerry, many friends of mine have turned their longing eyes to Tipperary. I write to you for an answer to these two questions. First: Could you get for me a Requisition to stand respectably signed? Secondly: Could you return me beyond any doubt?

Write to me here, and do not show this letter to anybody, unless in the strictest confidence.

Always yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The searching severity with which Lord Anglesey sought to crush O'Connell's political organisations drove the Tribune to resort to various expedients in his effort to continue agitation. At a house in Stephen Street, Dublin, rented by himself, and which he styled 'the Parliamentary Office,' he announced his intention of resigning Clare and becoming a candidate for a southern county. The question then arose who should succeed O'Connell in Clare. To Major MacNamara he had been allied by ties of early friendship, but the Major urged him to consider solely political claims, and thereupon O'Connell brought forward the O'Gorman Mahon as a candidate. A tissue of vexatious misunderstandings arose, which ended in Maurice O'Connell challenging the Major. Meanwhile O'Connell quarrelled with Mahon, and a violent personal encounter was the result. O'Connell was seated in a triumphal car, attended by a great multitude, when O'Gorman Mahon, in an opposition chariot, also followed by a crowd, drew up alongside the Liberator's car, which he attempted to scale with

⁹ For nearly half a century Bianconi's cars, many of them carrying important mails and travelling at all hours of the day and night, often in the most lonely places, conferred a boon on Ireland and

caused him to be styled 'the Colossus of Roads,' and sometimes 'Hero of Cars,' alluding to Sir Fenwick Williams. (See O'Connell's amusing letter to Bianconi, March 24, 1843.)

the object, as it was supposed, of ousting him. He was a powerful man, six feet high; but O'Connell grappled with him, and flung him back into the crowd as though he were a child. In the end Maurice O'Connell was elected.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

Ennis: May 15th, 1831.

My dear Barrett,—I came in here yesterday from Tralee. My brother, with several others, preceded me. We found the county polled out, but . . . keeping the poll open for mere purposes of vexation, and causing expense. His career has been one of the most extraordinary that ever yet was exhibited. No other human being but himself would have dared to attempt it. *First*, he canvassed as a 'Terry-Alt,'¹ and continued to do so until the day of election. Even his speech, *as reported by himself*, is full of that strain. His failure is, however, a proof that the influence of the miscreants of that party is not paramount, but it did a great deal for him. It is probable that, without the aid of the 'Terry-Alt' system, he could not poll one hundred votes by all his other exertions. Secondly, finding that the system of terror became insufficient, some of his friends resorted to the plan by which he got in before—namely, bribery. They, one way or the other (and it is believed chiefly by committing to his utter ruin his unfortunate youngest brother) raised between them some twelve *hundred pounds*, and made a desperate effort with that sum on Monday. It was, however, soon exhausted, and with it ended all hope of success. On Tuesday he polled but sixteen, on Wednesday but six; and yet, as the Law allows him to keep open the poll this day, he does keep it open, without having one single voter to produce. Thirdly, being defeated in their system of terror, and exhausted in funds, so that there could be no more bribery, he resorted to rousing at his side the spirit of—what think you?—Orange bigotry! It is certainly a fact. He determined to 'put

¹ An agrarian confederacy.

down the priests.' Such were his words, but infinitely more virulent, as I understand. Indeed nothing, it is said, could exceed the coarseness of his expressions. He got circulars written to all the parsons, and to several of the Brunswick high party, promising to oppose the bill!!! and put down priestly domination. But although these circulars were in a great measure supported, and indeed backed, by a fat attorney of the name of Greene, one of the oldest Orangemen in Ireland, and by the noted Thomas Mahon, of biblical and Kildare Place celebrity, yet they so totally failed as not to produce one single vote. The Parsons and the Brunswickers were too keen to be deluded with the proffered support of a man who, having been untrue to every other party, and especially to his own, could not possibly be true to them; they rejected him with scorn. *The last attempt* came then. I hope, and wish to believe, that there was no kind of intention of carrying it to a murderous or felonious extent; but the facts appear to be that, on Wednesday afternoon late, he made a violent harangue, and, as Gibbon says, 'his peroration was peculiarly eloquent,' because he concluded by giving the butchers a 30 shilling note to drink whiskey, which they accordingly did, and in about half an hour the butchers appeared in the streets in a formidable state indeed, because, although their number was not great, they were armed with long knives and hatchets. This, of course, created the utmost terror and dismay. I do not think that more than two persons were cut. It became necessary to call out the garrison. The butchers were put to flight, six or seven of them lodged in gaol, and a charge was exhibited against —, of having instigated the riot, before Major Vignolles, whose conduct on this, as on many other occasions during the elections, deserves the highest praise. Having thus failed in every attempt, and Major McNamara having a majority of more than 500, and Mr. M. O'Connell a majority of 104, he was driven to desperation. He attacked Major McNamara in the streets, called him all manner of abusive names. The Major heard him with silent con-

tempt. There was an immediate meeting of the friends of the Major, who at once decided that he was not only not to have any message sent to him for his unprovoked insult, but he was not even to be prosecuted, but was to be treated with total contempt and disregard. So ends his career. . . . Such then is the result of this mad campaign; but what else would you expect from a man who has acted the part he has? He cannot do any more mischief. In future he will be perfectly harmless.

Believe me always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

P.S. — has resigned. I have instituted a prosecution against his brother. I am a trustee for the public, and cannot allow any man to carry an election by sheer violence, or to make a second election by what would be assassination.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Tralee: 15th May, 1831.

My dear Friend,—I enclose you two cheques, one for a £400 bill, the other for a bill of £82 10s, due about the 17th. Enquire at the bank of La Touche for a bill of mine for that amount from the Limerick branch.

I make no apology to you, my dear friend, for all this trouble. Indeed it would be paying you a bad compliment not to be convinced of the alacrity with which you would take trouble for me.

You have heard of the glorious result of our Kerry Election. We compleatly defeated the Knight. Perhaps there never was known a stronger instance of popular determination. The aristocrats, as is usual, considered the county as their own, but the people willed otherwise.² The Chamber of Commerce of this town were the principal agents in emancipating the county. My Committee took

² In 1831 Daniel O'Connell and Frederick W. Mullins were returned for Kerry in the room of Maurice

Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, and Hon. William Browne, brother of Lord Kenmare.

up Mr. Mullins,³ and from that moment his election became secure.

Will you send to a Charity Society at No. 25 Patrick Street to say that I will be able to preside at their dinner on Monday, the 23rd inst., if that day answers their purpose.⁴

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

On June 12 the House of Commons reassembled after the General Election, and twelve days later the Reform Bill was again introduced by Lord John Russell.

To Lord Duncannon.

Merrion Square : 28th May, 1831.

My Lord,—I beg of you to be so good as to let me know how soon *we* shall be wanted. I trust we are to have a new Speaker. If I may give my private opinion, but one very general in this country, much dissatisfaction would be created by continuing Mr. Manners Sutton. Indeed, your enemies would attribute it to a timid subserviency, or something not *so good*; whilst I believe all independent men—I mean, men unconnected with Ministry—are extremely offended with the conduct of the late Speaker. Mr. Lyttleton has been spoken of. There may be nothing in the report, but I believe his appointment would give general satisfaction. At all events, by your taking the trouble to let me know, I think I can promise you the attendance of the *two* members for Kerry, and the *two* members for Clare, to vote for any *new* Speaker.⁵ . . .

The state of Clare is very very bad.⁶ The poorest class

³ Latterly known as De Moleyns. A branch of this family is now ennobled by the Peerage of Ventry.

⁴ When public meetings were prohibited by proclamation, O'Connell expressed his right of speaking at charity dinners and breakfasts. His speech appeared in the newspapers and served a political purpose.

⁵ A long statement follows, from

which it appears that a claim had been made by Lord Duncannon's department against the then High Sheriff of Kerry, a tenant of Crown lands. His rent had fallen into considerable arrear; but money would be soon forthcoming, and O'Connell requested a suspension for one fortnight of all hostile proceedings.

⁶ As it is at this day.

have got the masterhood, and even the small farmers are now enduring an atrocious tyranny. I go down again before my return to London, and will either assist in a pacification or satisfy myself upon the necessity of harsher measures.—I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

London: Saturday, July 2nd, 1831.

My dear Barrett,—I intended to send you a letter to the People of Ireland on Stanley's humbug 'improvements' in the Irish Reform Bill, but I was invited by a mutual friend to a conference on this subject with Lord Althorp, and until that is over it would not be delicate or proper to discuss the matter with the public. Of course you will see that the fact of such intended conference is not to be published.

I got a letter this day from Staunton, breaking off the compromise with Lavelle.⁷ I am sorry for it. I told Lavelle of Staunton's determination, and learned from him that he had written to his editor, reproaching him strongly for the attack of which Staunton complains. Of course, after having been engaged as *arbitrator*, I can not be counsel for either party, and in fact I would not. There was a retainer left at my house by Lavelle's Attorney, but I returned it to himself. I hope I will get the first Reform Bill modified—indeed I expect it—but we shall owe very little to the Ministry on that account, or on any other. You will see by the papers a short sketch of the various battles I was engaged in last night. But, after all, the most important was the last, that on the Arms Bill. It is an atrocious Act, but one which, I trust, we will defeat. There is not one single measure of utility to Ireland proposed, or to be proposed, by this Ministry, save lending us money to be repaid with interest, after being laid out in Grand

⁷ Mr. Patrick Lavelle was proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*. Various newspapers were prosecuted

at this time for publishing inflammatory letters from O'Connell.

Jury Jobbing. The Arms Bill, if passed, would just come to this—that whilst the Orange Yeomanry got arms from Government, the people were to be deprived of all means of preventing their throats from being cut with impunity; but I believe it will never pass. The public opinion here is very decided against the Irish Yeomanry,⁸ and, indeed, I believe that Lord Anglesey and Stanley will be compelled to yield to the indignant sense of the independent English members. In the meantime, I would be sorry that my friend Staunton committed himself as a supporter of the hair-brained and vain Anglesey. Believe me, we have nothing to expect from him or Stanley, save under the pressure of public opinion.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 9th July, 1831.

I have not time to write to you on politics, but you will be glad to hear that the Reform Bill is safe for England, and must be improved for Ireland. Stanley⁹ is less self-conceited since I knocked up his Arms Bill. I wish that ridiculously self-conceited Lord Anglesey were once out of Ireland. I take him to be our present greatest enemy.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

London: 11th July, /31.

My dear Barrett,—I am again unable to write my address to the people. I was this day at the Belfast Harbour Committee, where nothing was done, and then at Lord Althorp's, where there was an immense meeting of Reformers, but the doing of business was altogether interrupted by that stupid Lord Milton, who wants to deprive leaseholders of their right to vote under the Reform Bill. There

⁸ The Tithe massacres were mainly chargeable to the Irish Yeomanry, and the outcry that was raised ended in the dissolution of that remnant of the woes of 'ninety-

eight.

⁹ Right Hon. E. G. S. Stanley, Chief Secretary for Ireland, afterwards Earl of Derby.

is nothing new; indeed, my thoughts are much engrossed by the increasing spirit of Anti-Unionism manifesting itself in Ireland. We certainly shall have the curse of 'poor Laws' else; if the Union be not repealed, you will have all the frightful evils and much of the horrible immorality of the poor Laws introduced into Ireland. How blind the Irish gentry and merchants are, not to see this inevitable consequence of hanging back at this moment. We shall have A. B. King's grant on this night. I mean to support him—for which I shall, of course, be blamed. To-morrow, the fight on the Reform Bill will practically commence. Lord Althorp, at the meeting this day, declared explicitly that the Ministry determined to *carry* the three bills, English, Scotch, and Irish, through both houses *this session*.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 18th July, 1831.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Many, many thanks for a further instance of your kind attention. You are, in fact, 'the friend in need, who is really the friend indeed.'

For the present, all will go well with me until I reach Ireland early in September, if I can achieve £300. . . .

There is nothing new, but great commercial distress and difficulties. My own opinion is that they must come to a bankruptcy.

The Reform Bill struggles slowly through the House. The Coronation measure is merely as an excuse to make peers in order to *hurry* the bill through the Lords. The Earl Grey should be impeached if he does not make peers enough to secure the measure.

We are beating *the Gordons* nightly in the House, though the reporters omit everything Irish, and the special reporters only catch from 'men say' a shadow of what has been said in the House. They do not, I believe, attend themselves at all. If what has been said of Kildare Street ¹

¹ The Kildare Place Schools.

had been reported, the triumph of the popular party would be complete. I have no doubt that the entire grant for Kildare Place will not amount to one half the usual sum, and that the residue will be put into better hands.

I am most anxious for facts about the Yeomanry on the 12th of July.² Petitions on that subject would be most useful.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 27th July, 1831.

My dear Friend,—I have been busily employed procuring the fullest attendance possible of the liberal and independent members for to-morrow on the Dublin Election ballot.³ I believe we shall have as fair a chance as possible of getting an independent and honest committee. The Radicals have promised me to attend numerously, so that it will be a mere mischance if a Tory Committee be packed. . . .

The Reform Bill creeps on slowly ; we cannot come to the Irish part for weeks and weeks. But I have the pleasure to tell you that the feeling in favour of a *Local Legislature* in Ireland is becoming daily more favorable here, and the day is fast approaching at which we *can* succeed in carrying that measure unless it be our own fault. Communicate to those whom *it may concern*, and who have any confidence in my opinion. This is my deep conviction, if Ireland be but partially, that is, even partially, true to herself, she can secure all the blessings of self-government. Everybody should by degrees prepare for that event. It is, I am convinced, the only thing that can secure the connection with the Crown and people of Great Britain.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

² The anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne which led to the flight of King James—an event which the Orange yeomanry rarely failed to celebrate.

³ In 1831 Frederick Shaw and Viscount Ingestre were returned for the City of Dublin. In 1832 O'Connell and Ruthven succeeded them.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Confidential.)

London: 9th August, 1831.

My dear Friend,— . . . We must rally and not allow the scoundrel Tories to carry Dublin. Perhaps all will turn out for the better. The present plan is to start John D. Latouche and Sergeant O'Loghlen.⁴ If Latouche will not come forward, why then we must have Sir John Byng as the second candidate. But O'Loghlen is certainly to be one of the candidates. Work, work, work. Everybody must work. I will go over if it be desired or desirable. The writ issues this day; by to-morrow week the election may commence. The Ministry have been guilty of such drivelling folly that they are, at length, ashamed of themselves, and are, I believe, determined to meet the faction with vigour. Perrin⁵ is to get a Borough. They will not be content to leave him out of Parliament. I cannot tell you how I pant for defeating the Anti-reformers in the Corporation, and all the old tools of bigotry and corruption.

There should be an *independent* committee formed. It should not be called by any other name, save some equally general. The last election was made void by reason of the name 'Perrin's Committee.' We must avoid this fault in the transaction. The *use* of thinking of the past is merely to correct the future. Money I hope and *believe* will not be wanting. O'Loghlen is not to spend one shilling of his own. In short, the time is come for every man to exert himself. We have only to break the Shaw party in the Corporation, and all will be well. I doubt whether the Tories will find it easy to raise money enough for the fight.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 21st Sept. 1831.

My dear Friend,—I can not get time to send you the amended draft of the resolutions constituting the political

⁴ Afterwards Sir Michael O'Loghlen, the first Roman Catholic Master of the Rolls since the reign of King

James.

⁵ Louis Perrin, afterwards Judge of the King's Bench.

character of the Union of Trades. I am desirous of becoming a member, and wish to put the Society on the most clear legal grounds. We never can repeal the Union, which every day becomes more and more pressing, except by keeping quite clear of any illegality whatsoever. I am, however, obliged to spend *my day* on the Malt Drawbacks Committee, and you see that the House sits during the night. I hope in a day or two to be able to send you the regulations complete.

To-morrow Sir John Newport and I, as a deputation from the Irish members, are to have a meeting with Lord Althorp, Lord John Russell, and Stanley, on the subject of the Irish Reform Bill. It is very very bad as it stands, but I hope we will ameliorate it. I will let you know the result.

The commotions in Paris will, I hope and believe, end favorably for the cause of civil liberty.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Edward Dwyer.

[Fragment.]

Aug. 6, 1831.

. . . has had the impudence to get us arrested. There is something singularly mischievous in every proceeding of his Lordship.⁶

The war, you will see, is actually commenced. In one week all Europe will be engaged from one end to the other. I believe it to be the last struggle between Despotism and Liberty. This will be the time to speak out; and I have no notion of bating my breath. I, for one, will speak out. England will, I trust, join the friends of freedom, and, if so, Ireland will join her heart and hand: PROVIDED ALWAYS, as we lawyers say, that justice is in the first place done to Ireland. We must not trust to promises. A domestic parliament, an absentee *rate*, an *arrangement* of Church property—these are the *sine qua non* of our assistance. My heart beats, and my spirits are light, notwithstanding the

⁶ Lord Anglesey.

Dublin defeat. Perhaps it is all for the better. It will shew that Lord Anglesey can meddle in Irish affairs only to spoil them.

Let every possible preparation be made for a new contest for Dublin. Let us give them a contest at all events.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Edward Dwyer.

London : 17th Sept. 1831.

My dear Friend,—I got your letter with the rules of the Trades Union. I approve of them generally, but will add some to make them more efficient and more legal. In the meantime, I write to urge the propriety of getting petitions to the House of Lords in favour of the Reform Bill. I think every parish in Dublin, as well as my friends of the Trades Union, should petition *strongly* the Lords for the bill. Use respectful language, but *threaten* them as strongly as you can without direct menace; that is, *foresee* the effects of refusing the reform. Set about this as speedily as possible; it is material that we should *pour* upon that House the full vial of popular determination. I therefore urge all my friends to petition as speedily as possible.

We are at length beginning to press the Irish Government out of their Orange connections.

My opinion is that the Irish distillers will get no relief. The Committee is so constituted, and the Excise Board is so adverse, that I think we have little chance of success. Ireland *can not work* without an Irish parliament.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Commit your petitions to Lords Grey, Brougham, King (to choose), Radnor, Shrewsbury, Cloncurry, &c. &c.

To Richard Barrett.

(Confidential.)

London: 5th Oct. 1831.

My dear Friend,—I have suffered a good deal in health for the last three weeks, so as to be unable to sit late in the House. I am, however, now quite restored, and have the usual accompaniment of convalescence—an enormous appetite.

The Lords will, I think, to a certainty throw out the bill; so that I expect to have the pleasure of seeing you *within* the next ten days. They are mad, stark mad, to dare to fly in the face of popular sentiment and popular indignation. I do think we shall live to see the hereditary peerage abolished in England.⁷

[Three pages lost.]

London: 5th Oct. 1831.

I care not which. His feelings are all anti-Irish, his entire turn of mind is bent to the protection of all existing abuses; he would grieve if he had been compelled to give any substantial relief to any real friend of the country.

Lord Anglesey is holding mock levees. Poor Lord Cloncurry is so enamoured of the Welsh dignitary that he forgets poor Ireland. There is nothing in nature perhaps more ludicrous than to contrast Lord Cloncurry's conduct now with that which he adopted three years ago. At that time he wished to throw into the great excitement of the Catholic question the still greater excitement of the Repeal of the Union. Now he writes about our great excitement, forsooth! Pah! these are not times for such paltry sneaking from the assertion of the people's rights. The people should be prepared by the press for the line of conduct to be pursued. As soon as I arrive in Dublin I will begin with a public breakfast. The last was put down by a proclamation; the next can defy any attack. One or two

⁷ On October 7, Lord Wharncliffe moved an amendment—that the Reform Bill be read that day

six months. 190 supported him; against, 158; and on October 19, 1831, Parliament was prorogued.

public breakfasts will give a tone to the public mind. My fifth letter on the Union may be a further stimulant. We will form a society to look to the registry of freeholds in each county. We will see how many anti-Unionists we can bring into action in each county. The course of proceeding must be the preparing petitions from each county. An anti-Union rent must be instituted and everything done.

The Carrickfergus Disfranchisement Bill will be postponed until next session. It is not possible to get it through the Lords during the present. There will not be any new writs issued to that borough.⁸ You may rely on it, that the Government will put down the Orange magistracy.

Strictly, strictly private, and most confidential. I could be Attorney General—in one hour.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Among the troubles of this year was a threatened cessation of tax-paying.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

London: Oct. 8th [1831].

My dear Barrett,—The Lords have had the audacity to throw out the Bill.⁹ *So much the better.* The sensation is powerful, and the public sentiment will make itself be heard. The Ministry are determined not to resign. They are also determined to make a distinction between their friends and their enemies. To begin with the War Office. Lord Hill refused to vote. He will be dismissed. The Lord

⁸ This was due to the report of a committee which had examined the signatures to a petition against the return of Lord Arthur Hill. It was stated that fourteen out of thirty had been forged by J. M. Eccleston and Hutchinson Posnett.

⁹ Though Brougham, 'on bended knees,' as he said, had besought them to pass the Reform Bill.

Sir R. Vyvian led the anti-Reformers in the Commons. For-

merly he was surrounded by the county representatives of England. In time they vanished and were succeeded by Reformers. Vyvian with desperate resignation sat almost alone, but made a religious attack on O'Connell. The latter, amidst much laughter, described him as—
'The last rose of summer left blooming alone;

All his lovely companions have faded and gone.'

Lieuts. of Counties even will be discarded. Every enemy will be turned out. In Ireland a similar course is determined on, and the Tyndals and other enemies in the paltry corporation will be forthwith dealt with by an unsparing hand.

The conduct, the foolish conduct of Lord Anglesey in Ireland is the subject of universal blame. Between him and Stanley they have just contrived to do all that they ought not to do. Lord Anglesey will be made Commander-in-Chief and Stanley will be promoted off. The Marquis of Westminster is likely to be the new Lord Lieut., and Ellice of the Treasury is likely to be the Secretary.

The bishops behaved with all the hate of liberty for which the married bishops have been so notorious. Only think, the creature that the Whigs a week ago made bishop of Worcester refused to vote with them! Kyle,¹ whom Lord Anglesey made a bishop, of course voted against them. Lord Caledon, Lord Enniskillen—in short, all governors of counties made by them the other day, voted against them. There has been this day a large meeting of members at the Thatched House tavern. They entered into strong resolutions to support the Ministry and to enforce Reform. Hume addressed the meeting in an energetic speech. He condemned the trivial policy of the Whigs, their unwise plan of supporting their enemies and promoting them, and neglecting their friends. He insisted they should now and at once start on a different line of policy. He was loudly cheered. In short, the game is up, and the Tories must be put down.

The parliament is to be prorogued until the first week in December. The King is firm and will create peers in abundance. The new Bill is to be brought into the Lords in the first instance. It will be necessary to have sixty new peers; of these about twenty-five will be the eldest sons of peers called up by writ. These will not make any permanent addition to the peerage; the other thirty-five will be collected in various parts of the three kingdoms.

¹ Dr. Kyle, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, an undecided Tory, had just been appointed Bishop of Cork.

In the meantime there will be a cessation of tax-paying. The Painters in London are already summoned to meet. The placards are surrounded with black; everything is to be in mourning. If the English be true to themselves they must trample over the scoundrel Aristocracy.

Expect to see me about Tuesday week, *not* Master of the Rolls, nor Sir Daniel, but honest and true and your sincere friend,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Lord Duncannon.

Merrion Square, Dublin: 19th Oct. 1831.

My dear Lord,—I am rejoiced to be able to tell you that I found the popular mind here easy to be managed and directed so as to aid the cause of Reform, and nothing but Reform, until the bill is carried. But the state of things may be rendered worse than precarious unless the promised change of System immediately commences. The government is, in point of fact, as essentially anti-Irish and Orange as it was in the days of Peel or Goulburn. At least such is the public opinion; and allowing, as I readily do, that the intentions of the Ministry are good, of what value is that when all their appointments are almost without exception from the ranks of their present and *continued* enemies?

It must be recollected that the present Ministry² are now more than ten months in office, and as yet they have not done any one service to Ireland. The causes of complaint, on the other hand, are many, and the giant sin of rearming the Yeomanry is recorded in letters of blood.³

In short, the time *should* be come for a change of System. The past may easily be buried in oblivion if means are taken to satisfy the people of Ireland that some practical good may be expected. But if it be imagined that it is safe to delay

² Earl Grey's, which came into office November 22, 1830.

³ The Yeomanry had acquired notoriety for their sanguinary deeds

in 1798; and on June 18, 1831, by shooting on the people at Newtownbarry, when thirty-five persons fell.

and to postpone giving proofs of a change, all I can say is that those who so think will find themselves sadly mistaken.

I do not conceive what part of the Ministry it is that refuses to allow a liberal and popular plan of governing Ireland. Who are they that cling to the miserable system of allowing a faction all the benefits of domination and patronage in Ireland? It is, indeed, quite unintelligible to me why we should have a Whig Ministry now twelve months, or nearly, in office, and yet the Tory system and the Tory men are all powerful in this unhappy country.

I wish to stand fair in your opinion, and I beg of you to recollect for me hereafter that I can *now* pledge myself that if the Government will act with vigour on their own principles, Ireland will be a source of strength and comfort to them; but if they omit the present favorable opportunity of commencing to be friendly to their friends, and ceasing to show partiality to their enemies, it will be discovered that Ireland cannot be deluded or managed under such circumstances. It is said that the Ministers are afraid of the Orange party; that they have not the courage to avow a determination to discountenance that faction. If that be so, the result will be most unhappy, and indeed ridiculous, because there never yet was a sentiment of fear more unfounded. The real terror should be of offending and insulting the Irish nation at large. But I fear I weary you.

I have, &c.,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Lord Duncannon.

Merrion Square: 27th Nov. 1831.

My Lord,—I very much deplore that any circumstances should occur to prevent your standing for Kilkenny County, but I cannot venture to dispute the decision you have come to, *connected as you are with the Government*, because it would have been impossible, but for that connection, to separate the people from you. What a pity it is that *you* should be the victim of Lord Anglesey's want of intellect,

and of Mr. Stanley's insane presumption—you, I will say, naturally the most popular person that ever belonged to the party of the Whigs; you, whom everybody esteems and respects; you, to whom the Catholics owe a debt of gratitude, and in whose personal qualities everybody places unlimited confidence.

It is really cruel that Lord Grey will still refuse to understand the mischiefs of handing Ireland over to men who govern by the *Attorney-General*—by a vile Tory attorney-general, and place the Government in the odious situation of a common Informer chuckling over the verdicts they get and gloating over exacted penalties. I wish I could have the honour and satisfaction of half an hour's conversation with you. Lord Anglesey and Mr. Stanley have made the people of Ireland Repealers. They will, if they remain, make them Separatists. In six months the connection between the two countries will have to be maintained by armed force, unless Anglesey and Stanley be removed and the *Attorney-General* cashiered.⁴

I have had an intimation from Nottingham that you were to stand for that City, and you will smile at hearing that I have been called on for your *character*. What a strange resolution! as if you were not yourself, although belonging to the nobility, a more sincere and practical reformer than any one member of this political Union.

When the Irish Parliament meets there is this consolation, that nothing can deprive you of the representation of Kilkenny save your taking your seat in the House of Lords.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Lord Duncannon to O'Connell.

(Private.)-

Brighton: Nov. 28, 1831.

My dear Sir,—I saw the Chancellor⁵ this morning, and he tells me that, in a speech of yours, you mention the probability of your not being at the meeting of Parliament.

⁴ Mr. Blackburne.

⁵ Lord Brougham.

Now I need not assure you how necessary your presence here will be, nor how great a triumph your absence would give to the opponents of the Reform Bill. I do hope you will come over to us, and give us your powerful support, and that you will ensure as much attendance as possible from other Irish members. I am sure if you had been here you would have seen that one of the great engines made use of against the meeting was that the Irish members would not come. Now this I have always expected would not be the case, and I should therefore be most mortified if we were now left without that assistance. The meeting I hold to have been absolutely necessary; the country requires it, and it would have been considered an abandonment if it had been postponed. It is indeed most inconvenient to many, particularly those at such a distance, but you and they have given it heretofore a most disinterested support, and I confidently hope you will continue it.

Believe me, my dear Sir, &c.,

DUNCANNON.

To Lord Duncannon.

Merrion Square: 4th Dec. 1831.

My Lord,—I owe you two or three letters, but I must candidly say I do not know *how* to write to you. I have too sincere a respect for you personally to desire or intend to write anything offensive or even unkind, but I can not speak of the Government to which you are attached without expressing myself with a strength of dislike and abhorrence which it is painful to me to address to you.

As to the Lord Chancellor of England,⁶ I do really and sincerely hold him in the highest estimation. I believe veneration would not be an unsuitable word. Such a man has not been in his high office since the days of the martyr Sir Thomas More. May he too not become a political martyr to the drivelling folly and insulting obstinacy of his colleagues with regard to the offences of

⁶ Lord Brougham held the Great Seal from Nov. 1830 to Nov. 1834.

His consistent support of the Catholic claims earned O'Connell's eulogy.

Ireland, a country too wise to be deluded, and, I will add, too strong to be insulted for a continuance with impunity?

I can have your testimony to my readiness to act on Lord Ebrington's views,⁷ and to assist the Ministry in reconciling them to Ireland and Ireland to them. I need not say that I would not sacrifice my principles, nor unnecessarily part with my popularity, but I did think that Lord Ebrington spoke *advisedly*, and that therefore my principles would be adopted in the management of Ireland, and my popularity transferred to the King and the King's government. So far I was not only ready to assist, but I did assist; for on my arrival here I found a formidable Anti-Union organization complete, called The Trades' Union, headed by a man of popular qualifications, and capable, I fear, of misleading. I took them out of his hands. I not only turned them, but I can say I turned the attention of the rest of the country from the overpowering question of the Repeal to the suitable one of Reform, and I actually kept matters in suspense in this state for about a month after my arrival.

It was just the time to carry Lord Ebrington's *promise*—for such we considered it—into effect. It was the interval of perfect unanimity in which a kindly government would anxiously desire to proffer measures of conciliation to the Irish nation. It was a breathing time which a wise Government would gladly lay hold of to begin the promulgation and practice of those measures which would reconcile the Irish nation to their policy. But no, not the least word was thrown out of any plan of utility, of conciliation, of punishment of the blood-stained murderers of the people, or of dismissal of their enemies. I will not dilate on these topics, but I will remind you that I made my complaint in a letter to you, and in another to Mr. Hume. I know the

⁷ Viscount Ebrington, LL.D., F.R.S., became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and while filling that post succeeded his father in the peerage of Fortescue. He had been previously

connected with Ireland by his marriage with the daughter of Piers Geale, Esq., and relict of Sir Marcus Somerville, Bart.

latter reached the Chancellor and Prime Minister. But were my complaints on the part of the Irish people attended to ?

Yes, they were, thus. Mr. Stanley, who has rendered himself more odious than any other man who ever assisted in the misgovernment of Ireland—Mr. Stanley, the snappish, impertinent, overbearing high Church Mr. Stanley, Mr. Stanley of Crimes Bill notoriety, who spoke of the ‘tried loyalty’ of the Orange Yeomanry, was sent over again to be chief and only real governor.⁸ It is idle to conceal it : Mr. Stanley *must* be put out of the government of Ireland. This you will call dictation ; and it is so, but it is dictation only to this extent : Mr. Stanley *must* leave Ireland, or the ministry *must* expect to lose the support of the Irish members. I make one of six, at the least, who would be in London on the first day of the session, and every day after supporting Earl Grey, if Stanley had been *promoted* off, out of his present situation. I say six, because so many have actually put themselves into my hands. If I, however, said twelve and went on to twenty, perhaps I would be nearer the truth. I know how easy it is for the friends of Earl Grey in England to assume the mock heroic, and to *bravely* exclaim against dictation. But all that is folly. The People of Ireland must have a party to support their interests ; that party can not certainly be the Tories. Alas ! it is not the Whigs. Who are to be the friends of Ireland ? We must form—I am forming—an Irish party—a party without religious distinction. I am in this more successful than I could anticipate.

I worry you, I fear. My opposition to Mr. Stanley is founded on *this*—my experience and conviction of his principles and practice with respect to Ireland. The Subletting Act *must* be repealed ; he hangs on to that Act. The Vestry laws *must* be abolished ; he clings to the system—that is, *the right* of Protestants to have Catholics and Dissenters pay for their churches, chapels, sacramental ele-

⁸ Mr. Secretary Stanley had a seat more powerful personage than the in the Cabinet, and was therefore a Viceroy, Lord Anglesey.

ments, music, the washing of their church linen and the matting of the church floors, &c. &c. The Grand Jury laws must be amended—that he admits—but he clings to the principle of *nomination* of Grand Juries, the rotten borough system. Ireland insists on parochial election of those who are to lay on county taxes. I could write a volume on the contrast between him and Ireland. One word will do—**TITHES**. He says they are as sacred as private property. Ireland insists on their being abolished.

Again, has he consulted one single Irish member on the Irish Reform Bill? I have an idea that you, my Lord, are as rigidly excluded as I am. But is not this insulting? And yet Lord Grey and his Government prefer conciliating Mr. Stanley to conciliating Ireland! So be it.

Again, there are the Lord Lieuts. of Counties. Vesey Fitzgerald is gone to Clare to organize the return of two Tories. Lord Wicklow is actively doing the same in Wicklow.

Now can any Administration dare to ask for confidence from friendly persons when they place power in the hands of their enemies—when they wantonly, unnecessarily, I would say contemptuously, give their enemies power over those who desire to be their friends? Be it so.

The Yeomanry—but I am going too far. Recollect, my Lord, that Lord Killeen,⁹ at the Navan dinner last week, said just what I do: ‘The Whigs have been in office twelve months, and they have done nothing for Ireland.’

But even you yourself, with all your undoubted good wishes for Ireland—you are Lord Lieut. of a County—is there one delinquent magistrate dismissed? The toast drinkers; the men who confined a wretch for months for the treason of singing a song with my name in it; the protectors of the Myshall Corps of Yeomanry in *all* their delinquencies. Why there they are Parsons—beggars and all—in the commission of the peace. Be assured that I take the liberty of saying this solely in sorrow and without any other anger than what arises from the recollection of

⁹ towards Earl of Fingall, Lord Lieutenant of Meath.

the cold cruelty of the rest of the administration towards Ireland, when they prevent even your good wishes from developing themselves into good acts.

I remain here until after Christmas as, amongst other reasons, an expression of my just resentment. I detain others here on the same grounds. We will go over with all the indignation of men who think themselves basely used by Lord Grey's Government. As to poor Lord Anglesey, he now excites only compassion. Lord Plunket excites feelings of a different but not more favorable nature. His equity bill has made more 'Repealers' than ever I did.

I deem it a duty to be thus candid with you, that you at least may understand that there is but one way of governing Ireland—that is, by not preferring individuals to the people, but the people to individuals. Ireland is sinking into decrepitude. In Cork, in three of the parishes alone, there are 27,000 paupers!!! The evil of absenteeism is incurable unless there be a beneficent heart and firm hand to apply the proper remedies. And in such a state of things we have a Ministry—bless them!—who prefer an individual and the gratification of his pride to the wishes and wants of a nation.

I have written disconnectedly and in all the bitterness of sorrow. Lord Ebrington held out a false hope. We believed, and have been deceived. Now that he has been falsified we expect *acts* to precede promises. The dominion, the absolute controul which Stanley exercises over Lord Althorp¹ shows us that we should not again encourage hope. Strike off the Tory Lord Lieuts. Turn off Lord Lorton, Lord Wicklow, Lord Forbes,² Vesey Fitzgerald—your open enemies. Give these counties to your open friends.

But it is time I should relieve you. In any and every event, I beg of you, my Lord, to be assured of the personal respect and high esteem of, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

¹ Chancellor of the Exchequer.

² Father of the present Earl of Granard.

To Lord Duncannon.

Merrion Square: 19th Dec. 1831.

My Lord,—I am much obliged to you for the early information you gave me of the period when the house meets again. I intend to be in my place.

I am bound to tell you that Mr. Stanley has continued to perform that miracle which was supposed quite impossible. He has united all the inhabitants of Ireland in opinion upon the Tythe question, and that is, in unanimous execration of his plan. He must be insane, and be allowed to amuse his madness with Irish government. But I am too full of this subject to be able to write upon it. Is it possible he can think it is '*the mode*' in which the established church is paid, and not '*the payment*' itself, that has revolted the people of Ireland! That it is a mere question of *manner*, and not of *matter*. Reason help him.

Indeed, indeed, I much fear the consequences of that deeprooted conviction which is spreading far and wide, that Ireland is not only to be treated with neglect, but with premeditated and stupid contempt.

In everything Irish interests are treated most contemptuously—in the excise, in the customs, in the Law, in the Reform; and lastly, the tythes are to be mitigated by giving the Parsons the dominion of the soil.

Quem vult perdere—

You, my Lord, do not require I should finish the sentence.

I implore your kind forgiveness for inflicting my poignant anxiety on you.

Believe me, with the most unfeigned respect, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A break occurs in the correspondence from this date until February 7, 1832. During this interval, various overtures were made to induce O'Connell to take office. One medium of communication was Bishop Doyle.

Several letters throwing light on the secret history of the time, and addressed by Dr. Doyle to Sir Henry

Parnell, afterwards Lord Congleton, were some years ago kindly placed in my hands. Between Sir Henry and Dr. Doyle a close intimacy existed. The baronet represented one of the counties in Dr. Doyle's diocese, and was a prominent figure in Whig Administrations.

'I think it will be hard to gain O'Connell,' writes Dr. Doyle on October 10, 1831, 'for he is more popular in Ireland now than he ever was, and he can, if he please, get twenty or thirty thousand pounds from the country on his return. This popularity and emolument are more than Ministers can offer to him; but I believe the man is honest, and will not be disposed to plunge the country into utter confusion if your views towards him be acted upon. I will write to him to-morrow, but he may have already decided.'

'I shall, as you desire, write this evening to Mr. O'Connell,' writes Dr. Doyle on October 17, 1831. 'He will be in the hands of the agitators even before my letter arrives; but this moment is not one that he should select for agitation, and he may pause.'

'My application to him was more successful than I anticipated, but finding how isolated the proposal of office was made to him, I fully agreed with him that it should be rejected. Does the Government, or any member of it, suppose that, seeing their acts for the last year, we can expect a change if they hesitate to state, however confidentially, that there will be a change, and to what extent? Or do they imagine we are such simpletons as to commit ourselves with a bad system, cast from us the means of improvement which we possess, and render ourselves, for base lucre, the by-word of the age? I leave home for two or three weeks, and will remain in the vicinity of Dublin. I intend to pass a few days with Blake, who is a depositary of all knowledge. I shall not, however, inform him on the subject of O'Connell.'

This was the Right Hon. Anthony Richard Blake, who during successive Whig *régimes* was dryly described as 'the back-stairs Viceroy of Ireland.'

Meanwhile O'Connell's organ, the *Pilot*, edited by Barrett, published on October 19, 1831, a paragraph in reference to the rumoured promotion:—

'Whether accepted or rejected, it will be upon very different motives than any derived from personal hate or resentment—motives unworthy of a statesman or a Christian. For the same reason that a man who was once with the people deserves censure if he afterwards oppresses or deserts them, so should a repentant sinner be taken back to public favour; and the man who would resent past faults, should there be a determination to do present good, would be unfit to be trusted with the destinies of a nation. No statesman or patriot would act upon such a principle—none but a deist or a demon would urge it. If O'Connell refuses office, personal or political resentment will have nothing to do with the refusal; and if he accepts office, it will be without the compromise of a principle, and only because he will have attained more power to serve Ireland *in* than out of office. We will go further, and say that if O'Connell refused office under such circumstances—in dread of the misconstructions of the *vile* and the misconceptions of the weak—he should show want of moral courage, be a deserter of his country; because he would miss an opportunity of doing *practical good*, lest he might be subject to imputations from the basest of the human race.'

All this time the negotiation with O'Connell continued. Dr. Doyle was of opinion that, without the Great Tribune, England 'could not, in his lifetime, govern this country.' As the letters in which Dr. Doyle tells what passed may be found in the *Life* of that prelate, it hardly needs to reprint them here.³

Brougham, in his *Autobiography*, writes:⁴ 'Grey never would listen to any proposal to treat with O'Connell, and so nothing was done.' The 'reforming King' was O'Connell's bitterest foe, and in his correspondence with Grey a fervent hope is recorded that the Premier would hold him 'at arm's length.'⁵ However, a patent of precedence at the Bar was conferred upon him. This with a couple of pounds weight of seal now lies before me. A similar com-

³ See *Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin*, 2nd edition, vol. ii. pp. 334-6.

⁴ *Brougham's Autobiography*, vol. iii. p. 231.

⁵ *Correspondence of William IV. and Lord Grey*, vol. ii. p. 152.

pliment had been already accepted by Brougham under the Canning Administration, and O'Connell prized it much. But mingled feelings succeeded when the bill of expenses arrived. The first item is 'His Majesty's Letter, £14 1s. 3d.'; among others is 'Lord Lieutenant signing Fiant, 12s. 6d., and Stamp £50.' The total amounts to £93 0s. 11d.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 11th February, 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I cannot write to ask of the distillers respecting my son's brewery. I am acting for them as a *public* man on *public* grounds, and unfortunately doing them very little good. I therefore am sorry to refuse your request, but I could not comply with it without feeling that I was availing myself for private purposes of parliamentary exertions, such as they are. Besides, is it not quite clear that the distillers are driven from *your shop*⁶ either because they find it more their interest to deal elsewhere? in which case I would no more influence them, if even I could, than I would take any other bribe, or by their thinking that they owe me no gratitude, or from a combination of both causes; so that in every view of this subject, anxious as I am for the success of the brewery—and my anxiety is very great—I will not in any way interfere with the distillers, that is, while I am in parliament. When I leave the House and return to my profession, I then will not hesitate to canvass for the interests of my darling child, but until then not one word. I am not the less grateful to you for the suggestion from which I thus differ. I know it proceeds from the present desire to serve the interests of my darling child. Nothing new. THE TYTHES ARE GIVEN UP. Depend on this.

Yours gratefully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell having been specially retained for a great case—Kearney *v.* Sarsfield—at the Cork Spring Assizes of 1832,

⁶ Mr. FitzPatrick held shares in a brewery which nominally belonged to O'Connell's son. (See pp. 421–463.)

advantage was taken of this visit to organise a demonstration in his honour. An immense procession of the trades, carrying banners, and marching in military order, followed by the carriages of leading citizens, met the Liberator some miles from the city, and gave him quite a triumphal entry.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Cork : 19th March, 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . There never was such a scene as we had yesterday. It is impossible to form an idea of it without having been a spectator. It beat all the processions I ever witnessed all to nothing. It is decisive of the Repeal. You may smile at this, but I think you would not if you saw the respectable and *considerate* thousands who shouted for it yesterday—Protestants, Catholics and Presbyterians.

I supposed that all the householders of Dublin were to be assessed under the recent Cholera Statute.⁷ I therefore did not subscribe, but if there be no present assessment, send £20 for me to the Mansion House, and send *privately* £5 to the Rev. Mr. Ennis in Townsend Street, and £5 to Mrs. MacAuley,⁸ at the Convent, Baggot Street. Let these two be perfectly private. . . .

I will write again to you from Bath. I cannot express to you my anxiety to hear daily from Dublin.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Bath : 3rd May, 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write again to urge you to send me to London the receipt of the Hibernian Bank for, if possible, £3,500. I am anxious to have this receipt before me on my arrival in London.

I am also anxious to hear that you and all friends are well. I trust in God the malady⁹ is diminishing ; it is an awful visitation. We are—blessed be the great God!—in excellent health.

⁷ This plague now swept Ireland for the first time.

whom a large biography has been written.

⁸ Mrs. Catharine MacAuley, of

⁹ The cholera.

On May 7, 1832, Ministers, having been beaten on the Reform Bill by a majority of 35 in the Lords, resigned, but were persuaded to resume office on receiving the Royal permission to create new peers and thus secure a majority. O'Connell, at this time, delivered a speech in denunciation of the anti-Reformers which equalled his boldest efforts in oratory.

To Edward Dwyer.

London: 15th May, 1832.

My dear Sir,—These are the times to try men's souls. This is the period to distinguish between the real and firm friends of reform and the paltry pretenders to a spirit of freedom. I rejoice to see how well the people of Ireland understand their present situation. We are not mere spectators; we are deeply interested in the constitutional struggle now going on in this country. The fate of Ireland must be much influenced by the decision on the English Reform Bill. If the Duke of Wellington comes into office, a delusive reform must be given to England, but it is certain that none will be bestowed on Ireland, unless we procure it for ourselves, as we already procured Emancipation. For my part, I cannot bring myself to believe that the Duke will accept office under a pledge to carry the bill. It is scarcely possible to believe that any man could be found ready to cover himself with such disgrace as would attach to him if, after last week declaring the Reform Bill in its details unjust and iniquitous, and in its principle subversive of the monarchy, he should now become the advocate of that very measure. Why, the annals of political depravity cannot produce turpitude like to this; and the apathy with which he stood by and neglected to avert the murder of the gallant Ney was but a negative reproach compared to the execration which his name will create should he falsify his own solemn declarations, and for the sake of the paltry patronage, and lucre of place, turn round and carry into effect a principle of reform which, when out of place, he emphatically condemned.

Let us not believe that there is in human nature such turpitude, unless we see it realised by action.

Yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To James Dwyer.*¹

Brooks' : 17 May, 1832.

My dear Dwyer,—Everything is in train of settlement, and I am told a public and satisfactory announcement will be made this evening. The fact is that the people of England must *have Reform*.

This alone would make me regret the aid you tender to our political Union. Mere reformers in Ireland are not worth a Bullrush. I would not be at the trouble of courting them. You must have seen that I do not urge on the Repeal when it could interfere with Reform, but I utterly decline making any bargain on this head. I will not postpone the Repeal by contract, although I tacitly allow it to stand over for a fitter season, which is now very near. The English Reform Bill will be Law in ten days, and from that moment the Repeal will be our cry; it will serve every purpose. In the first place it will compel a better Reform Bill for Ireland in order to disarm some of those who would otherwise join in the Repeal. Secondly, it will prepare the English mind for the more direct and constant agitation of the Repeal Measure. It is absurd to suppose anything else could serve Ireland. It is impossible to manage Irish interests by men who are either careless or inimical even from mercenary motives. I totally reject your proffered aid and unpatriotic friends.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

¹ James Dwyer, afterwards Q.C., was held in esteem rather for his powers of humour than for deep legal acumen. His stories owed much of their success to the lugubrious expression with which they were told. For years he had stalked through the Four Courts, and his memories of the men he had known

were often very quaint. He described one barrister carrying to Court in his pocket a large empty bag. On arrival he would put his greatcoat into this bag and then drag it from court to court to create the impression that it was plethoric of briefs.

London : 30th May, 1832.

No news. The English Reform Bill is going on swimmingly. The Irish Bill is as bad as bad can be. If my son should come across you, explain to him how impatient I am for his arrival here.

The small space at the disposal of journalists fifty years ago led to some abridgment of the parliamentary debates, with the exception of speeches delivered by the Ministers and certain favourite orators. O'Connell, long used to stenographic fidelity at home, now loudly complained that his speeches had been garbled, especially on the question of West Indian slavery. The sequel to O'Connell's quarrel with the reporters will be traced in his letters of the following year.

To Captain Stirling, of 'The Times.'

4 Parliament Street : June 21st, 1832.

Mr. O'Connell feels that he owes it as a duty to himself, and perhaps to others, to remonstrate with the Editor of *The Times* upon the circumstance, which has now occurred for the second time, of assailing him through the medium of pretended reports.

Mr. O'Connell assures the Editor of *The Times*, and is ready to confirm his assertion by the most solemn sanction, that the report of the speech attributed to him is, with the exception of a few unimportant ideas, a total and most unfounded misstatement.

He also is authorised by Mr. Hunt² to contradict in the same manner the speech attributed to him. Mr. O'Connell has underlined part of the speech attributed to Mr. Hunt, of which not one word, nor any idea bordering on such sentiments, was uttered by Mr. Hunt.

The allusion is too plain to be mistaken. Mr. O'Connell thinks he could treat the foolish story to which it alluded with silent contempt, as he has hitherto treated it ; but had that allusion been made in the House of Commons, he

² Henry Hunt, M.P., the great Radical reformer and orator. Born 1773, died 1835. (See letter of September 22, 1828.)

would certainly have found it his duty to give it a quiet but most emphatic contradiction.

He cannot bring himself to believe that the Editor of *The Times*, as a man of integrity and a gentleman, could possibly countenance a proceeding of this description—the circulation of calumnies not uttered but put into the mouth of a man quite innocent *on this occasion* of any sort of connexion with them.

There is a very strong reason why Mr. Hunt should not be the person to make any allusion to *that* calumny. He certainly did not do so.

Mr. O'Connell is also authorised by Mr. Callaghan³ to assert in the most positive manner that, short as is the speech attributed to him, it contains matter totally different from anything he said.

Under these circumstances, Mr. O'Connell, having no claim on the Editor of *The Times*, but on the score of mere justice, thinks himself entitled to this redress—namely, that sufficient care should be taken to prevent the recurrence of *similar* attacks upon him.

Mr. O'Connell demands no retractation—he requires no apology—he solicits no dismissal of any reporter. He would feel unhappy if any person were to suffer for an injury which he forgives. He is quite convinced that this occasion will not be taken to aggravate the injustice done him by the shape of anything purporting to be an apology.

Mr. O'Connell, however, does not shrink from any mode of warfare that may be adopted against him, and without deprecating hostility, and looking only for *justice* in future in the mere matter of reporting, he feels that he thus has discharged a duty, and rests content.

Captain Stirling, in reply, said that his indignation exceeded even Mr. O'Connell's 'at the gross misrepresentation which he imputed' to the reporter. He was peculiarly anxious that every word which fell from Mr. O'Connell

³ Mr. Gerald Callaghan, M.P. for Cork. (See O'Connell's letter to FitzPatrick of July 18, 1831, on the strange system of reporting then common.)

should be reported with scrupulous precision, and he would treat any attempt to distort the expression of his opinions as an act of intolerable baseness.

To John Walter, Esq., of 'The Times.'

4 Parliament Street: June 21st, 1832.

Sir,—I venture to address you *in your proper person*, because I have to ask a favour.

Let me say by way of preface that if the house had continued to sit another half hour I should have exonerated the management of *The Times* from all blame. I intend to do so *in my best manner* to-morrow.

I have seen Mr. Nugent, the reporter, and am quite satisfied on the subject of the report. The favour I venture, therefore, to ask is that you will overlook his error. I should feel unhappy if I were the means of doing him any injury.

It is quite true that I can have no means of compensating you in any mode for granting me this favour, but I will not be the less sensible of it.

Will you, then, allow me to say that if, on the whole, you think I have any claim to have my feelings consulted, you will comply with my request and grant me this favour?

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

An Orange journalist had made an effort to annoy the 'Agitator' by intruding on his private affairs, but O'Connell's troublesome enemy, the *Mail*, now took higher ground.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 17th July, 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,—See Mr. Sheehan,⁴ and express to him for himself and for Dr. Boyton⁵ my hearty thanks

⁴ Thomas Sheehan, of the *Dublin Evening Mail*, a violent opponent of Daniel O'Connell.

⁵ Rev. Dr. Boyton, F.T.C.D., a

writer in the *Mail*, of whom presently. (*Vide* letter of February 21, 1833, *infra*.)

as a private gentleman and quite independent of politics. I wish it may be in my power to shew them, and especially Mr. R. Sheehan,⁶ the readiness and the pleasure I should have in doing anything that could oblige or serve. I am very glad has attacked me, because it has enabled me to see the personal good qualities and high-mindedness of men who have been, and are upon principle, my very violent and most decided political enemies. It is pleasant to find that Irishmen are better than our passions and prejudices make us imagine.

I trust, between you and me, that the day is not distant when we will join our 'little senates,' and compose only one body concerting together for the good of Irishmen of every class and persuasion.

I want £200. I want this sum without delay. Send it to me by return of the post. I allow these things to remain over too long, and then have to use an urgency which might easily be spared.

Yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Remi or Remigius Sheehan, whose name will be often found to crop up in this correspondence, had been an attorney in Cork, but, finding letters and politics more to his taste, succeeded Haydn, author of the 'Dictionary of Dates,' as editor of the *Dublin Evening Mail*. The constant waspishness of his attacks on O'Connell and Poperly gave the Liberator much annoyance, and one day he retorted by upbraiding Sheehan with apostasy. Sheehan, stung by this charge, which in point of fact was true, struck O'Connell with an umbrella in Nassau Street and then ran away. Sheehan had been arrested, and O'Connell appeared at College Street Police Office in January 1827 to lodge informations against him for the assault. Sheehan complained of the indignity offered to him by the arrest instead of serving him with a summons to appear.

⁶ Remigius Sheehan, brother of Thomas.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 19th July, 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I wrote to you yesterday for £200. I now draw another draft on you. Send £10 *privately* to Mrs. MacAulay, Sisters of Charity House,⁷ for the sick poor under their charge. Send £10 *privately* also to the Rev. Mr. Ennis, Townsend Street, for the sick poor under his charge. Send also £10, the first instalment of my subscription for the new chapel in Westland Row.

You will perceive by the newspapers that I have succeeded for Sir Abraham Bradley King. I venture to assert that between both parties he would have been left a beggar if I had not taken him up. May God forgive me if I be wrong, but I do not think the act will be thrown away when we come to our next effort for conciliation.⁸

I have now disembarrassed myself of my share of public business, and, if the Kilkenny Assizes be postponed, will be able to attend. I leave, please God, for Bristol next Monday. I intend going by Cork and Killarney to my mountains to prepare for another campaign, which, with the blessing of God, will be more useful for Ireland. You have seen in the papers what a triumph Brady has—I mean J. C. Brady—over the Chief Justice and our rascally Irish Judges on the subject of peremptory challenges in transportable felony cases. The Attorney General and Campbell declared themselves decidedly in favor of his opinion.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I do not think Stanley will be able to carry his Tythe Bill this session. His prosecutions are considered silly and vexatious.

An attempt had been made to give certain corporate officers of the old *régime* in Dublin less compensation than

⁷ Sisters of Mercy.

⁸ Sir Abraham B. King had been a prominent member of the Orange Corporation of Dublin, and a most determined opponent of

Catholic Emancipation. Cox's Magazine of the day exhibits him, pictorially and otherwise, as leading the van of various anti-Catholic movements.

their berths were worth ; and others besides King received O'Connell's aid. Indeed, all he required was to be satisfied that the claims of every man whose cause he espoused was a just one, and, as soon as that was proved, he took the Orangeman by the hand and helped him with thorough zeal. Sir Abraham B. King was Deputy Grand Master of the Orange Society. At the time of the Parliamentary proceedings, to which O'Connell refers as having been entirely successful on behalf of King, he received a letter from the baronet to the following effect :—' Spring Gardens, London, 4th August, 1832. My dear Sir,—The anxious wish for a satisfactory termination of my case, which your continued and unwearied efforts for it ever indicated, is at length accomplished. The vote for compensation passed last night. To Mr. Lefroy and yourself am I indebted for putting the case in the right position to my Lord Althorp, and for his Lordship's consequent candid and straightforward act in giving me my full dues, and thus restoring myself and family to comparative ease and happiness. To *you*, Sir, to whom I was early and long politically opposed—to you, who, nobly forgetting this difference of opinions, and who, rejecting every feeling of party spirit, thought of my distress and sped to succour and support me, how can I express my gratitude? I cannot attempt it. The reward I feel is to be found only in your own breast, and I assure myself that the generous feelings of a noble mind will cheer you into that prosperity and happiness which a discriminating Providence holds out to those who protect the helpless and sustain the falling. For such reward and happiness, to you and yours, my prayers shall be offered fervently ; while the remainder of my days, passed, I trust, in tranquillity (by a complete retirement from public life, and in the bosom of my family), will constantly present to me the grateful recollection of one to whom I am mainly indebted for so desirable a closing of my life.'

The writer of this letter died in 1838. One day Colonel Pratt entered O'Connell's study, and told him that his late father-in-law, Sir Abraham, when extremely ill, had called him to his bedside, and said, 'When I shall have been buried, go to Daniel O'Connell and tell him that the last prayer of a grateful man was offered up for him ; and that I implored Heaven to avert every peril from his head.'

This feeling was shared by his son, the Rev. Sir Walker

King, Bart., who, when O'Connell was prosecuted in 1844, wrote a handsome letter, enclosing £10 to aid in his defence.⁹

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 11th August, 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You will be happy to hear that my health is—blessed be God!—quite restored, and I now enjoy my pristine elasticity of animal sensation. There never was so great a change in the tone of animal functions in any man within so short a period. I enjoy my mountain hunting on foot as much as ever I did, and expect, with the help of God, to be quite prepared for as vigorous a winter campaign as ever I carried on. It is quite necessary.

I want you to pay the following sums for me: 1st. The ten pounds a month to the Rev. Mr. Blake, for Townsend Street Chapel,¹ as removing. 2nd. To pay half a year's subscription for me to the *Repealer* newspaper. 3rd. To pay Pat Costello² at his office £50 on my account. 4th. To send me down, by the Rev. Mr. L'Estrange, the *New Monthly*, *Tait's Edinburgh*, the *Irish*³ and the *Catholic*

⁹ The deliberate statement of O'Connell, already recorded more than once, that he was the worst correspondent in the world, and indeed hated to write letters, is curiously illustrated by the fact that this effusion of Sir Walker King remained wholly unacknowledged. The baronet, stung by such neglect, at length addressed a hot protest to O'Connell's son. Much of this sort of thing that might be told makes one value the more the marvellous fulness with which O'Connell opened to FitzPatrick his mind and heart.

¹ The new Roman Catholic Church in Westland Row was now being built to replace an old chapel in Townsend Street. Designed from a structure in Athens, and capable of holding 6,000 persons, it was finished in three years, at a cost of £13,000, subscribed by the parishioners.

² Pat Costello was a staunch ally

of O'Connell's. His vulgar humour has been already noticed. He contested Waterford with Sir H. W. Barron, who was elected; but Costello lodged a petition against him and went to London to watch its progress. At the threshold of the Senate the doorkeeper informed him that he could not pass. Costello declared that he would be a M.P. in a week. The janitor tartly replied that he must wait until then, drew himself up, and looked imposing in his official dress. 'When I'm declared the sitting member,' proceeded Costello, 'the first motion I'll make will be to get the *Spaker* to clap a pair of plush breeches on your shapely legs!' Some members who had come on the scene, and were waiting to pass, laughed loudly, to the great discomfiture of the official, who had been formerly a servant to Lord Derby.

³ O'Connell wrote for the *Irish*

Magazines, all for August. Send me also, if you can procure them, my four letters on the Repeal Question. They were printed, as small pamphlets, by O'Flanagan, 26 Bachelors' Walk. Send me also the 3rd number of Marchman's *Illustrations of Pol. Economy*, also the Reform Bill the moment Grierson ⁴ gets it after it has received the Royal assent.

Believe me, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Monthly Magazine. His most important contribution is the account of his uncle, General Count O'Con-

nell, in vol. ii. page 255. (*See p. 1, ante.*)

⁴ The King's printer.

CHAPTER VIII.

Qualifying for an Attorney-Generalship—Election for Dublin—Tories coalesce with O'Connell—Edward Southwell Ruthven—Tithe Warfare—Louis Perrin—Con MacLoughlen—Progress of Repeal—Foot-Simon and Fat-Simon—To Lord Duncannon—'The Volunteers for Repeal of the Union'—The Cabinet puzzled—Coercion Bill of Earl Grey—A Tory O'Connell—Dr. Boyton, F.T.C.D.—Attempted Coalition with Orangemen—'A Delightful Vision'—Lord Anglesey's Threat to blockade the Irish Ports—Agrarian Outrages—'Luttrel Lambert'—Bishop Doyle—O'Connell calumniated—A Great Struggle—'The Die is cast: we are Slaves.'

THE Trades Political Union was a democratic body which went at times too fast for O'Connell, and at other periods not fast enough, but he used it as a motive power in his organisation. Marcus Costello, President of the Union, is generally found in opposition to the Liberator, and creating dissensions in the National Councils. He posed as a flaming patriot and fire-eater; exchanged shots with Tom Reynolds in the Phoenix Park; made his processions parade defiantly round the statue of William III.; is found in the hands of the police more than once; but our final glimpse of this great demagogue is in the rôle of Attorney-General at Gibraltar, where he was allotted a palatial residence in the midst of orange groves.

It was no uncommon practice with Viceroy's of the past to employ sham patriots to create division in the National Councils. 'My plan,' writes Lord Northington, 'was, by means of our friends in the Assembly, to perplex its proceedings and create confusion.'¹

Some might suspect that this policy was followed in the present instance; but, on full inquiry, I am assured that the appointment of Marcus Costello to Gibraltar was simply to get rid of a dangerous man, and that before making it O'Connell's sanction had been obtained.

¹ Froude, *English in Ireland*, vol. ii. pp. 384-5.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 29th August, 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . Can you find out for me the motive for Marcus Costello's² outrageous conduct at the Political Union? I beg of you personally to watch him—and give me any intelligence you consider perfectly accurate as to his motives. You perceive that my mind is made up upon two points—first, that every exertion should be used to register as strong a force as possible in Dublin, without quarrelling about the candidates; and secondly, that when the time comes no candidate should be tolerated but a Repealer. James Dwyer was very idle on this subject. A Whig or an Angleseyite is as bad for Ireland—indeed much worse than a Conservative. A Conservative has but one fault, which is indeed a *thumper*: he wants ascendancy—a thing impossible to be revived. But he is, after that, Irish, often very very Irish, and whilst in opposition he may be made more Irish than the Irish themselves. An *Angleseyite*, on the contrary, is a suffocating³ scoundrel who would crush every Irish effort lest it should disturb the repose of our English masters.

² The *Dublin Evening Post* of August 25, 1832, gives a long report of the proceedings, on the previous day, of the Trades Political Union. Sergeants Perrin and O'Loughlen both sought to enter Parliament as Liberals, but Marcus Costello resisted their pretensions, and declared that the Trades Union should reserve to themselves the right of modifying or withholding any one of the pledges prescribed for popular candidates. The Chairman ruled the whole discussion out of order. Costello refused to submit, spoke to order, and moved that Mr. Brown do leave the chair. Carew O'Dwyer, in moving an amendment, said that he saw Mr. Brown fill that chair at the Catholic Association, when it was an office of danger to be in it. Pat Costello supported O'Dwyer, and Marcus

Costello, amid much confusion, rose to order, while Barrett proceeded to throw oil on the troubled waters. 'Desultory conversation,' he said, 'was permitted in all debating assemblies—the House of Lords for example—and gentlemen should carry it on without asperity.' In the end Marcus Costello said that he 'would withhold his motion from personal respect to the Chairman, and for no other reason.' Marcus and Pat Costello were not related: the first was a Protestant, the latter a staunch Catholic. Between Marcus Costello and Marcus Cicero, Conway the journalist loved to draw a pleasant parallel.

O'Connell finally retired from the Trades Political Union.

³ Meaning a man who would gag or stifle the *vox populi*.

I wish I could get Boyton and Shaw, the Recorder, to join me for the Repeal.

Yours very sincerely,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To P. V. FitzPatrick.*⁴

Darrynane Abbey: 31st August, 1832.

One hasty line for two purposes. First, I am quite satisfied you should try how the ice will bear in Dublin. I am quite ready to coalesce with a Conservative on the basis of the Repeal. I am also convinced that any triumph of the Anglesey party would be over the heart of Ireland.

11th September, 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,—At the other side you have my notice of registry. Get it served. It is for honest Ruthven and for any Corporator that will come forward for Dublin on Repeal principles. I will address the Freemen so soon as the Registry is over. The worst party in Ireland is the Anglesey party. I prefer the Conservatives to the Angleseyites. The Conservatives cannot hold together. The conservation of tythes is the basis of their Union, and that takes away from them all the honest dissenters, and very many Establishment Protestants.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 19th Sept. 1832.

Is there any chance of George Evans⁵ taking the pledges? Will he Repeal the Union? If he agrees to that,

⁴ FitzPatrick, on receiving an intimation of O'Connell's views, put them into rhyme. The *Dublin Evening Post* of September 8, 1832, contains a column of doggerel beginning:—

My fellow citizens, I have received
Your invitation, and am much re-
lieved

To think that, tho' my vow to
Kerry's given,

I haven't registered that vow in
Heaven;

So your request may yet meet my
compliance

On one condition—that a short alli-
ance, &c. &c.

O'Connell, when challenged to
fight a duel, replied that he had
registered a vow in Heaven against
it.

⁵ Of Portrane. Son of Hampden
Evans, one of the Society of United
Irishmen.

then he commands all our support. If nobody else starts on the Repeal I will get FitzSimon⁶ to address the electors—if the Registry is favourable to a good man and true. I shall be very impatient to hear what notices have been served in Dublin. If that city would but return two Repealers—Ruthven and a Corporator, pledged to the Repeal. It is great folly and wickedness to exclaim against a coalition of this description. What every honest man has desired, and every good man prayed for, was an opportunity to bring Irishmen of every party together to co-operate for some object useful to Ireland, on which they could compleatly agree. It is really quite provoking that there should have been so much cant on this subject, if there were any reality in the expression of a desire for an opportunity of this description. Here is one ready made; and yet some men will prefer continuing in thralldom to the British, selfish, ignorant Parliament, rather than get one at home at the expense of a mere prejudice. For my part, I will leave no stone unturned to create co-operation for the Repeal.

I did not intend to write half as much, but the Repeal runs away with me.

Ever yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

Darrynane Abbey: 16th Sept. 1832.

My dear Barrett,—I sent you a letter for publication on Stanley's blundering Proclamations. If I had published it sooner it might have retarded persons otherwise disposed to serve notices. At present it cannot do any harm, and it may do some good. The towns having Clerks of the Peace by Charter are sadly misled by Stanley. But his grand blunder is putting *all* the counties at once under deputies, whilst he throws overboard the *principal* altogether. If the

⁶ O'Connell's son-in-law. Both Evans and FitzSimon were returned for Dublin County, beating George

A. Hamilton and Lord Brabazon, afterwards Earl of Meath.

committee at the Commercial Buildings have any spirit, they will avail themselves of both these points, and get a new register. The notices already served will be available for that purpose, I mean for the new session, if it can be obtained.

Between you and me, you will see in the *True Sun* a strong letter by me on the subject of the Wallstown massacre.⁷ I take it that the slaughter *there* was a palpable murder. There is no such right as that claimed by the parsons, of going into any man's farm to value his growing crop. It was in the exercise of this claim, which I take to be illegal, that the people were shot.

Thus the case is one of murder, because, in my view of the Law, the Parson and his party were trespassers, and it was lawful to resist them. Do not publish *this* letter, but you may put the point quietly. You will, of course, publish the other letter, that respecting the Blunders.⁸

The publication for which you are prosecuted is one entirely depending on the jury for *its* guilt. No fair jury can convict you. An unfair or packed jury would have a sufficient excuse for a conviction. But it is a very favourable publication to speak to, and your prospect of an acquittal is indeed great. The business, in the meantime, is to make the Government ashamed of their multiplied prosecutions.

Have we any chance of seeing you here during the vacation? I need not tell you how happy I should be to show you this place, and talk to you without interruption of my plans for ameliorating the condition of the Irish people.

Always yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 22d Sept. 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am not sorry that the Counsel for the Crown think the Session may go on under deputies

⁷ Sanguinary collisions had occurred at Rathcormac and Wallstown in consequence of resolute

efforts to levy tithes from the people.

⁸ Stanley's political blunders. (*Vide* second line of this letter.)

alone. But I differ with them *as to* the proclamations issued by Stanley, who could appoint *deputies* or *assistants* to, but not *superseders* of, the chairmen of each county. Be it so, however. Let us only go on as if Stanley were right.

It is curious what idle reports are circulated in Dublin. It is totally untrue that there was ever any understanding between the Recorder⁹ and me on the subject of the Dublin election. We never in London talked for one moment seriously on the subject. We joked about it, and I laughed at the idea. But I should, since my coming to Ireland, have been glad to make a coalition between him and a radical, the basis of which should be 'The Repeal.' *This is the only basis I would accept of*, because my object in any such coalition would be that and nothing else. I certainly would propose that coalition, and endeavour to enforce it on all my friends if I could; that is, exclusively on the basis of 'the Repeal.'

My political life is devoted to that object. Everything else is trivial and unimportant. Self-government is necessary everywhere, but Ireland cannot subsist without a local and domestic Legislature. And it would be best and most satisfactory to obtain that legislature with the consent of persons of all parties and persuasions.

As to the report of the Kerry landlords preventing their tenants from registering, I hear it for the first time. You may contradict it emphatically, if it be worth while. I expect, on the contrary, that we shall have a large registry. As to my return it seems not to have entered into the head of anybody in this county to imagine it possible to prevent it. I myself certainly do believe it to be totally impossible. I trust I shall prevent Mullins also from being disturbed. He avows himself an *Extinguisher*¹ and a *Repealer*. My highest ambition is to represent this county. Nor would I give it up, except to carry or greatly to advance

⁹ The Right Hon. Frederick Shaw.

¹ Mr. Stanley, in a report on

Tithes, had held out a hope of their 'complete *extinction*.'

the Repeal. The game to be played in Dublin is to return Ruthven and a Corporation repealer. That would be a triumph indeed.

As to Perrin,² I speak with you candidly. He behaved exceedingly ill to me on the Proclamation prosecutions. I think he behaved most unprofessionally ill. I am sure I experienced on that occasion nothing like friendship from him. But I heartily forgive him, and of course cannot entertain anything like a hostile feeling.

The point he behaved ill on was the *deserting* ME on Blackburn's infamous attachment motion, upon this paltry pretence, that I was not the person *nominally* attacked. His conduct was very bad indeed, but he is so superior to the great mass of his profession, he has so many good and excellent and amiable points about him, that I would not oppose him for any friend or relative; no, not for my son himself. But the Repeal is my first, my immediate, my constant duty. If Perrin would declare for the Repeal, I would walk from this to Dublin barefoot to get him one vote. But a Repealer for Dublin is my motto, and my sacred duty.

This brings me to O'Loughlen.³ He is the best and most excellent creature. I love him as my son, and would trust him exactly in the same way. I would share my bread and my cup with him to the last drop and sup. I would share my heart's blood with him. But I deal with him as I do with Maurice.⁴ If Maurice refused to give the Repeal test, I would oppose him, decidedly oppose him, if I could get a *Repealer* in his place. I should bitterly lament to be in any species of hostility with O'Loughlen, but 'Angleseyites' are now the bane of Ireland. Repealers are its only chance.

² Louis Perrin, a great Liberal, and the attached friend of Robert Emmett. He was one of the judges who, in 1844, tried and sentenced O'Connell.

³ Serjeant, afterwards Sir Michael, O'Loughlen. He was intimate at O'Connell's house from 1807. Mrs.

O'Connell, writing to her husband on July 14, 1817, says of Ricarda, her niece, 'I quiz her a good deal about O'Loughlen the barrister. I told her that your going to his brother's looked *suspicious*.'

⁴ O'Connell's eldest son.

As to the Duke of Leinster, he is the first of his race⁵ who was un-Irish, and he is un-Irish to the backbone. I believe any thing adverse to the real interests of Ireland respecting that man. I repeat that I have not, and never had, any ambition to represent Dublin. It would be a sacrifice to me to represent it, and never was there a greater falsehood propounded than the assertion that I had any understanding with the Recorder on the subject.

There never was any such thing. But I was always ready to coalesce with him, and am ready to coalesce with him or with any other Corporator on the sole basis of the Repeal, but I believe he is opposed, upon some fantastic notion of Protestantism, to the Repeal; a notion which there is no hope of banishing, because it is impervious to argument or reasoning. His not acceding to the support of the Repeal made and makes it impossible for me to *suffer* any coalition. But any Corporator should have my second vote who declared for the Repeal, taking care that Ruthven should have the first. We all owe Ruthven a duty to return him.

I have run on with my rambling, simply because the Repeal appears to me to want nothing but sincere and uncompromising advocates. I have at present bright prospects on that subject. I may be deceived and disappointed, but I do expect two Repealers for the County of Cork, two for the City, two for the County of Limerick,⁶ two for the City, two for Kerry, one at least for Clare—*vile* Clare I call it, corrupted as it has been by that bad man M——; one for Tralee, one for Youghal, &c. &c.

If the City of Dublin and the County of Dublin return each two Repealers the business is done. Backed by the Irish nation the Repeal becomes quite irresistible.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁵ It was said of the Geraldines, who were amongst the most courageous of the Anglo-Norman invaders of Ireland 'ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores.'

⁶ Mr. Godfrey Massy came forward for that county. O'Connell addressed a letter to him which appears in the Appendix.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 29th Sepr. 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,—. . . You have named the best man living as a candidate for Dublin, my beloved friend Cornelius McLoughlin,⁷ but a little common sense is very much wanting to those who for the present press him on. Why in the name of all that is absurd not wait until you know your strength before you talk of Candidates, at least before you pledge yourselves to them, or make them pledge themselves to stand? The game *was* this. A Corporator and an Agitator should have coalesced on the Repeal principle. The coalition should have preceded any declaration of any candidate. I believe it might have been well if I were the Agitator—well, not for me, but for the cause. That plan, however, is knocked on the head by the premature starting of Ruthven. Since I became anything of a public man, the starting so hastily and so soon of Ruthven was the most foolish thing I ever heard of. But *he is* started. He must be stuck to, or the popular party is disgraced. The Plan, therefore, was stifled, and it became Ruthven and a Corporator. Our man is chosen, we invite the junction of a Corporator, and thereupon you go dreaming of another popular man to the total exclusion of a Corporator,⁸ and to the prevention of our taking the first great step to Repeal.

I can hardly tell you how you annoy me. It will be now said that it is I who stand in the way of Cornelius McLoughlin, my best and kindest friend, for you have been already talking to White about this matter. For my part, I will not say one word until *I know* how the Constituency stands. And I do implore of you to wait for that period before you start any new project. If my coalition be destroyed, the Repeal of the Union is thrown back.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ Cornelius MacLoughlin, merchant, an old member of the 'Society of United Irishmen,' will be remembered as an ally in the struggle for

Catholic Emancipation.

⁸ It will be remembered that the Dublin Corporation at that time was an Orange body.

To William Scott, High Sheriff of Dublin.

rrynane Abbey : 25th Oct. 1832.

My dear Sir, —I received your kind and welcome letter only last night.

I answer your questions at once, and distinctly, that, as to Tipperary, I would respectfully suggest you to increase the force on the registry of Repealers, and not to commit yourself with any candidates until we find *how sincerely* they will give the Repeal pledge. We are sure of Otway Cave. The second is the question. My letters tell me that Wyse starts for Waterford and Sheil⁹ for Tipperary; but my maxim is to be perfectly candid with everybody, and I do not hesitate to tell you that, unless Sheil gives the most explicit and unequivocal pledge to the Repeal —such a pledge as could not be explained away—I, for one, would not support him. I know him well, and it would require a stout rope to keep him steady. He is a clever fellow, and would be of use if we steady him; but it costs him a great deal of trouble by not going straightforward. Secondly, as to myself. I never had, nor have I, any personal views on Dublin. I am quite secure in my native county. I do not think three per cent. of the voters would vote against me; and really I am convinced that a million of money will not render my return doubtful. It will not cost me one single shilling. My ambition and, if you please, my vanity are most abundantly gratified. I have, therefore, not the least occasion to think of Dublin, and rest quite assured that I do not think of it for myself. But you should know all. I did offer the Recorder¹ to stand for Dublin along with him if he thought that conjunction would facilitate his return upon the explicit Repeal pledge—the open and avowed basis of our co-operation to be the Repeal, and nothing but the Repeal. But even then I told him I would part Kerry with regret, and certainly would not stand

⁹ Afterwards the Right Hon. R. Lalor Sheil, British Minister at Florence. He was duly elected for

Tipperary.

¹ The Right Hon. Frederic Shaw.

for Dublin at all, even with him, unless he was deliberately of opinion that my so standing was essential to bring him in on the grounds of being a Repealer. I need not add that he would not pledge himself to the Repeal, and so the matter finally ended. Since then Ruthven has been put forward without my concurrence or consent ; but I cannot separate from my party merely on account of a name, so I must support him, and there is, therefore, not room for myself, if I were even inclined for Dublin, because I deem it quite essential to the Repeal that one of the two Dublin representatives should be a Corporator as well as a Repealer. My object is to combine as much of the Corporation as I can, and all, if possible, with the people, in order to carry the Repeal. We are sure of the people, and all we want is the Corporation. I think you made a display of considerable strength, constituted as the common council now is. They were in 1782, and later, the best patriots in Ireland. I want to see them so again, and therefore the second candidate for Dublin should be a Corporator. I will on this subject just add that it has been intimated to me (this I tell you in confidence) that the Government would support me for Dublin if I coalesced with Sergeant Perrin. They have not committed themselves ; it was merely an experiment, but it totally failed, and I tell it to you, that you may judge how idle the calumnies on me in the Government newspapers are on the subject of Dublin. As I said of Sheil, it saves me all manner of trouble to be candid and undisguised and straightforward. I wish Sheil had the common sense to see how much better in point, even of policy, to say nothing of principle, my plan is. **THIRDLY.** You next ask me whether I will support you. My answer is, really I am pledged to Ruthven as one, and I now heartily, readily, and at once pledge myself to you as the second. I will support you in person, by my influence, and I will aid a subscription for the expenses of the contest, putting down in the first instance £50 for Ruthven and £50 for *your* return. I will, besides, get you some, probably several, volunteer agents. The election, even if contested, cannot

last more than two days. We will bribe none, and therefore I do reckon with confidence that less than £500 will cover all you can personally have to pay. I would not, for one, consent to have you injure yourself in such a contest.

I will address the Freemen. I may possibly make some impression. The Coalmeters,² differing with me, as Dalton and most of them did, in politics and religion, had no more warm friend to obtain them compensation, and perhaps few more useful. I believe my adhesion to their cause decided the question in their favour. I could easily have roused an opposition, which probably would have been fatal to them, and some of my own party, whom I esteem, urged me to that course. Are you aware that it was I who fought out Sir A. B. King's pension for him? I can positively assert that he never would have got it but for me. I tell you these things to show the Freemen that, although King was Deputy Grand Master of Orangemen,³ and had, on the King's visit, behaved treacherously to myself, yet I got an act of justice done for him when his own party literally threw him overboard.

I hope to be in Dublin in a fortnight, and then we will go to work. It would be most essential to have a Repeal Club composed of men of all parties. At all events, we must get up a grand Repeal dinner. It is desirable to have persons of every creed and colour at that dinner. I will certainly have such a dinner 'to celebrate the memory of the Volunteers of 1782.' I will arrange with you the practical details of these *agitations* when we meet. They all must have a tendency to the practical measures which will return you and Ruthven free of expense, and then the practical measures which will restore the Parliament to College Green, not as a triumph of one party over another, but by a combination of all.

I am glad to find you can be useful also in Down. It is shocking that an Irish county should return a man who

² Corporate officers, long extinct, who had authority to levy toll on coal entering Dublin. This toll is

still enforced in England.

³ See letter of July 19, 1830.

bears the odious title of the Assassin of his country—Castle-reagh.⁴

There never yet was anything so absurd as the apprehension of an ascendancy. The time is gone by when either Catholic or Protestant could establish an ascendancy. We want rather to combine against the spread of infidelity than to apprehend an over zeal at the present day of any sect or persuasion. Men do not now quarrel about religion unless politics interfere, or personal or public gains. The pounds, shillings and pence are the causes of such quarrels now; and take away the *exclusive* right to these, and you take away the possibility of quarrel.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

Cork : October 29th, 1832.

My dear Barrett,—Insert in your paper the following : ' Birth at Darrynane Abbey, the lady of N. I. Ffrench, of Fort William, in the County of Roscommon, Esq., and youngest daughter of Daniel O'Connell, M.P., of a son⁵ and heir.'

I send you a broadside against Pierce Mahony.⁶ Insert it on Wednesday, and send 20 newspapers to ' John Boyse, Esq., Limerick ; ' his clerk will call and pay you.

The Tythe trials are ending in smoke. Hodnett was convicted in the City before Baron Pennefather, *who, it is clear, though it is not safe to say so,* behaved exceedingly ill to him, and sentenced him to three months' imprisonment—an excessively severe sentence. There are many others for trial, but who have foolishly run themselves into the meshes of the Law by posting anti-tythe notices, which is a transportable offence. Having secured them against transportation—that is, having a *private*—mark!—a *private* understanding that they should not be

⁴ Lord Castlereagh, when Irish Secretary in 1798–1800, crushed the legislative independence of Ireland by carrying the Union.

⁵ This 'son' is now Assistant

Registrar of Deeds, Dublin.

⁶ See letter of Oct. 30, 1830. It is pleasant to find O'Connell and Mahony good friends in the end.

transported, I have got them to plead guilty. They will be sentenced to-morrow, and it is understood that their sentences will be light. If I had been in Ireland, I hope, and perhaps believe, that these persons would not have got themselves into the trammels of the Whiteboy Acts. You know I steered the Catholic cause for twenty years and upwards free of all such dangers.

But these incidents will not have the least influence in retarding the downfall of tythes. On the contrary, they have an excellent popular effect, keeping the people from violating the Law, but at the same time making them doubly anxious to obtain redress by legal means.

We are certain of two Repealers for the City of Cork, and I verily believe two also for the County. The Conservatives are totally impotent, and they are backing down to aid Liberals. But it will not do, the people insist on Repealers.

Youghal certainly gives a Repealer, Mallow another, and I am much deceived if Kinsale and Bandon do not do as much; Kinsale I may say with much confidence, Bandon with much probability. The conduct of the Government makes it imperative on every man to be a Repealer.

I expect to be in Dublin within ten days.

Always yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In the Election for Dublin City at this time, O'Connell coalesced with Edward Southwell Ruthven, a Protestant, who had previously sat for Downpatrick. He was the son-in-law of Sir Philip Crampton, a staunch Tory, and the brother-in-law of John Crampton, afterwards Minister Plenipotentiary to various Courts. O'Connell and Ruthven were returned, the defeated candidates being Sir George Rich and John Beattie West.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 7th Nov. 1832.

. . . See Richard Farrell, the Catholic barrister—he is Chairman of Kilkenny County; and let him know the

precise day I will be in Dublin—the 17th inst. Let him get me, two or three days after that, to argue the Trimbleston cause.

See the Managers of as many Catholic Charities as you can. Tell them of my time of arrival. In particular, see a namesake of yours, and find from him whether I am not bound to preside first at his dinner. See Father L'Estrange on this subject, and let not these Charities clash. I am literally terrified from writing to any of them lest I should commit myself to an engagement which I may not be able to keep. At one time two Charities advertised that I would preside at each on the same day, and I had not influence enough with either to induce a postponement. This makes me excessively cautious on these points. . . .

The time is come to 'agitate, agitate, agitate.' If it were possible to induce a co-operation between the people and the Corporate powers, Lord Anglesey would be disarmed of 'his jurors,' and then I would make him a present of all imaginable corruption and profligacy on the Bench, if any such there be.

How shortsighted, how blind must the men be who do not see the advantage of increasing our own forces by taking in deserters from the enemy, unless those deserters give themselves up tied hand and foot! Above all things, not to see that the oppressions under which Ireland labours are now continued, because the Corporate Party furnish *willing jurors* against the people. The Lancers and the Artillery are nothing compared to the jurors. If I had jurors honest I would repeal the Union in one month. I long now to be on the scene of political action.

Yours, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Two gentlemen named FitzSimon were in Parliament at this time—Nicholas, finally the police magistrate and knight, and Christopher, finally Clerk of the Hanaper, who had married Ellen, the eldest daughter of O'Connell. Both men will be found noticed in these letters. Some confusion arose between 'the two Dromios.' Nicholas was

stout, however, and as Christopher had a halt, caused by orthopædic peculiarity, the first became known as 'FAT-Simon,' and the latter as 'FOOT-Simon.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Tralee : 20th Dec. 1832.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am sincerely thankful to you for the punctuality and accuracy of your intelligence. Everything has—blessed be God!—hitherto passed in the most satisfactory manner. If Meath and Dublin County do as well, why we shall be all triumph—and the best kind of triumph, that which furnishes hope, and indeed appears to reduce hope into the certainty of being able to accomplish something for Ireland. My return for Dublin unsolicited, and even unavowed by me, is perhaps the greatest triumph my countrymen have ever given me. I am more anxious than I can possibly express to be able to accept the seat for Dublin, and I have done everything in my power to procure a *substitute* for Kerry,⁷ but hitherto in vain. However, between you and me, I will continue those exertions, and I still have some hopes, although faint ones, of being able to succeed. We shall see. It would be most important to me to be successful. All this, however, has totally precluded the possibility of my going to assist Nichs. FitzSimon. Be assured that I have felt the deepest anxiety to be with him, and, if it were possible, I should have been aiding him. Yet I think anybody that recollects that I was not able to give Morgan an hour in Meath, or to return to assist FitzSimon, my son-in-law, in Dublin County, will not be difficult to persuade that my business in Kerry has been too important to enable me to have left this. Browne, Lord Kenmare's brother, resigned the Shrievalty to contest this county. I had therefore a contest to prepare for, but he has fled from the field, and unless he changes his mind again, or sets up some at present 'great unknown,' there will be a quiet election; but this is a

⁷ The seat vacated by the Liberator in Kerry was at last filled by his son-in-law, Charles O'Connell of Bahoss.

state of things which beyond any other requires the utmost attention. I must not allow a Boyton trick to be played off against me or my *party*. It is (you therefore see) absolutely impossible for me to leave Kerry before the election is over. Make 'the facts' my excuse to my most respected friend John Power.⁸ I do solemnly declare I would go as far to serve a son of his as I would for one of my own sons. I approve highly of the calling of the National Council for the 15th of January. It ought to be done as it was in the last year—first, by a circular from the Trades Political Union; and afterwards, by a circular from the National Political Union. The letters should be sent to every Irish Peer and to *every* person elected to the House of Commons in *any* part of Ireland; in short, to all the Irish members without distinction.

Gratefully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Merrion Square: 10th January, 1833.

. . . See John Power about his son-in-law. Let him not listen to base advisers. He is ruined for ever if he shrinks from the people at this juncture.⁹

O'Connell had denounced the Whigs, and Lord Duncannon was now no longer member for Kilkenny. Shortly previous to this date he wrote to O'Connell, saying that it was not his intention to offer himself to that county, but would do so for some place in England, 'where the same objections do not exist as I find in Ireland, as I am sure you will do me the justice to think that on the questions of Reform and most others that in England occupy the attention of the public I can fairly meet a free constituency.' But the loss of Lord Duncannon's popularity and seat in

⁸ John Power, the distiller, one of the trustees of 'the Fund,' and for whom O'Connell subsequently obtained a baronetcy. His son James became member for Wexford in 1835.

⁹ Nicholas FitzSimon, who married Katharine, daughter of Sir John Power, defeated Thomas Bernard for the King's County, and continued to represent it in successive parliaments.

Kilkenny—for which the Great Agitator was mainly answerable—caused no interruption in their epistolary intercourse.

To Lord Duncannon.

(Confidential.)

Merrion Square: 14th January, 1833.

My Lord,—You are the only person connected with power to whom I could write what I know and what I believe, and indeed I should not feel at rest if I did not tell you that the Government can not appreciate the exact state of this country. Stanley has had considerable success in enforcing the Tithes. He has overawed many, very many parishes, and there was an adequate force for that purpose, but the result is just what those who know Ireland foresaw—the spirit which is curbed by day walks abroad by night. ‘Whiteboyism’ is substituted for open meetings. *There is an almost universal organisation going on.* It is not confined to one or two counties. It is, I repeat, *almost universal.* I do not believe there is any man in the rank of a comfortable farmer engaged—not one man probably entitled to vote. But all the poverty of our counties is being organised. There never yet was, as I believe, so general a disposition for that species of insurrectionary outrages. We will do all we can to check it. I believe that we will keep the County of Meath free because we have a County Club in operation—persons in whom the people have confidence, and whose advice they will be likely to follow.

You may be quite sure that, if I were not convinced of the frightful extent of the impending mischief, I would not trouble you. All I can add in the way of advice is—that the more troops are sent over here the better. In every point of view it is best to increase the King’s troops. If the Yeomanry are called out the consequences may be terrific. Avoid that of all things; they will prove to be weakness, not strength.

I know you will excuse me for my cause in troubling you at this length. But, indeed, you, who are acquainted

with the history of Irish affairs, must have been prepared for this result. The insanity of delivering this country to so weak a man as Lord Anglesey, and so obstinate a maniac as Stanley, is unequalled even in our annals.

Pray pardon me for using harsh words, but, really, I cannot endure with patience the miserable misgovernment which has brought us to this state, nor can I without anguish contemplate the approaching crimes and punishments. You will readily believe that I will use all my influence to stop the career of those who are engaged in urging on the people.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Michael Staunton.

Bangor : January 25th, 1833.

My dear Staunton,—Many, many thanks for your manual.¹ I can not express to you how I prize it. I had not time to concert measures to have it printed, and I must own I *want* to have some of the effect of the *novelty* to the English members of your views. But you may depend on it you shall not be stripped of the Laurels you so well merit. My sincere conviction is, that your financial discoveries—for so I may call them—and your elucidations of the trickery of Spring Rice and Parnell, have done more to advance the cause of the Repeal than any other man—your humble servant not excepted. I say this with perfect truth.

I want three documents, which you must get copied and sent to me. *First*, Lord Anglesey's letter to Kertland.² It will be found in the newspapers between the 1st of October, 1830, and 1st of February, 1831. *Second*, Lord Anglesey's letter during the late contest, denying that the Government took any share in the election. *Thirdly*, my letter to

¹ *Hints to Hardinge* (the Irish Secretary), just as Staunton had previously produced *Lessons for Lamb*.

² Promising that the right of public meeting should not be heedlessly disturbed.

my constituents of Waterford, for which the motion for an attachment was made against you. I greatly want these documents, and have no opportunity of getting them in London. Anglesey's two letters are short and could be copied in three minutes. Pray, pray get them copied, and send them to me without any delay. I want to make use of them the first day's debate—say on Saturday, the second. Do not delay sending me Anglesey's two letters the post after you receive this; the other is longer, and may be delayed another day. I will do as much for you one day or another. I will write you or Barrett *private correspondence* whenever anything is worth *sending*.³ We had a most excellent passage. I hope to reach Shrewsbury tomorrow, as I am *bespoke* to the public dinner at Birmingham on Saturday.

Yours very truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Bangor: January 25th, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I want you to put your shoulders to 'the Volunteers.'⁴ Get young barristers and other good Agitators to attend every meeting, and make them do business. The objects are—petitions from every parish, national rent from every parish, an arbitration tribunal in every parish. There is, as a preliminary, the appointment of three persons for every county, five for every barony, seven for every parish. These persons' duties are—the three for the counties to attend, that the five for each Barony report the progress of the parishes, and the seven in each parish to get the Petitions forwarded, the national rent collected, the Arbitration tribunal established, and the Volunteers arranged to prevent Whiteboyism, riots and breaches of the peace. I will write these details to Dwyer before the next day of meeting. In the meantime get as many work-

³ The London letter 'from our own correspondent.'

⁴ When O'Connell's political

league was suppressed by proclamation, he started 'the Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union.'

ing men as possible in my absence to attend the Volunteers on Tuesday next, and every subsequent Tuesday.

I have got a house in Berkeley Square at Ten guineas a week; not dear. Direct to me there.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 31st January, 1833.

The Ministry are greatly puzzled. They know not what to do. As to Ireland they intend to do just nothing unless we drive them to it. Lord Anglesey returns to Ireland because no other man can be found to undertake Stanley's dirty work. The Duke of Leinster has even been spoken of as a Lord-Lieutenant. What folly! They may as well talk of Lord Cloncurry.

2d Feby. 1833.

Send me a list of the Barrack Board, with a description of the station in life, wealth, and character of each member.

The King's Speech at this time urged drastic measures of Coercion for Ireland, and avowed an unalterable resolve to maintain the Legislative Union. O'Connell stigmatised this as a 'brutal and bloody speech,' and Lord John Russell moved that his words be taken down.

To Edward Dwyer.

14 Albemarle St.: Feb. 10.

My dear Friend, . . . Do not be alarmed about my health. The atrocious attempt to extinguish public liberty with which Ireland is menaced has *made me young again*. I feel the vigour of youth in the elastic spring of my hate of Ministerial tyranny.

To Richard Barrett.

London: Saturday, 16th February, 1833.

My dear Barrett,—I proposed to myself to send you for publication on Monday an address to the Irish People on the present truly awful crisis of public affairs. But I have

been occupied with conferences all day with Irish and British members of the Commons, and I derive much consolation from being able to tell you that not only are the popular Irish members firm and unanimous, but that there are a greater number far than I could possibly expect of the British members determined to resist the atrocious tyranny with which Earl Grey has the unheard of audacity to dare to threaten Ireland. Talk of an Union, indeed, between the two countries after presuming to attempt to outlaw the inhabitants of one great portion of the Empire!!

But the extreme despotism of the proposed measures has a tendency to disgust every friend to liberty, and in England we shall certainly get immense support *out of doors*.

In the meantime, pray use my name to conjure the people—FIRST, to be perfectly peaceable; no outbreak, no violence. On the contrary, prove the absolute madness of doing the business of our enemies by any species of violation of the Law. *Secondly*, get the Clergy, if possible, and the laity unanimously to petition, PETITION, *petition, petition* against these measures. Let us have firm, respectful, strong petitions from every part of Ireland.

Announce an address from me to the People of Ireland to be published in your paper. Let there be no despair; the constitutional battle for Irish Liberty is not yet lost, neither shall it with the blessing of God. I repeat, let no man despair. On the contrary, call on the friends of freedom to insist that their representatives *shall* do their duty.

I have not time this day to write more. Let Peace, order, and constitutional exertion be our motto.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 17th Feby. 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I want the list of the Ballast Office, with an exact description of each member, and the names of anti-Corporation witnesses as speedily as possible.

You have seen the project of Ministerial despotism.⁵ I

⁵ Lord Grey's Coercion Bill.

have reason to believe it will be strongly opposed here. The Irish, of course, will fight it inch by inch. We begin to-morrow, nor will they be able to do anything but fight the preliminary steps to-morrow. I will lead the ball.

There is nothing so necessary as to pour the vial of popular indignation on all the Irish members who are liable to popular influence and yet desert their colours on this vital occasion. Send me every *Evening Mail*⁶ which contains any atrociously bloody passage.

It is pleasant to find so general a disposition on the part of the English members to oppose the 'Despotism Bill.'

I need not tell you to assure our friends that, if I am not much mistaken, they will be pleased with the exertions of the Irish representatives.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

London: Monday, February 18, 1833.

My dear Barrett,—I cannot send my address to the people of Ireland this day. I have been too much engaged on Irish affairs to write with the calmness I could desire. Besides, my blood boils with too much indignation to permit me to suggest the minuter details of the proceedings which the noble and generous, but long oppressed Irish nation should adopt in order to obviate the infliction of the last and greatest outrage which the Whig despotism has as yet attempted. I trust and hope they will attempt it in vain. But although I cannot enter into details, I can beg of you to impress on the minds of the people the leading topics to which they should turn their attention. First: let there be perfect peace and tranquillity. Even the Whitefeet themselves, all miscreants though they be, may understand that it is by peaceful conduct alone, by abstaining from further crime, they can expect to see themselves relieved from any of the grievances under which they labour. Secondly: call for petitions—strong, vigorous, energetic petitions—in decorous but firm language. Thirdly: collect in detail all the police and magisterial outrages, and let us

⁶ A strong and consistent denunciator of O'Connell.

have those details for Parliament with real signatures of persons who are ready to vouch on oath the truth of such statements. Fourthly: let each petition describe the state of the vicinity of the petitioners. If tranquil, let them say so; if disturbed, state the nature and causes of the disturbances. Let me implore you not to injure commercial credit by calling for a run on the Bank for gold. The run will take place of itself to the last bank note if the atrocious Algerine code be enacted. I write in haste.

Yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Rev. Dr. Boyton, F.T.C.D., was a sort of Tory O'Connell, who acted as the mouthpiece of patriotic Protestants. Even outwardly he had much of O'Connell's muscular development and girth of frame; he had all his vigour, and not a little of his eloquence. He was nicknamed, moreover, 'Bully Boyton.' When Lord Anglesey threatened to blockade the Irish ports and effect a total suspension of intercourse between England and Ireland, Dr. Boyton dryly asked which of the parties would be the worse for it—

'England, whose exports are articles which derive their value from the great manufacturing ingenuity exerted on materials of small intrinsic worth; or Ireland, whose exports chiefly consist of articles of food—the staff of human life? If the gallant Viceroy could suspend the intercourse between the countries, and prevent our exporting Irish beef, butter, and corn to England, why I really think that in so awful an extremity we could manage to eat those commodities ourselves! Whereas it would task the powers of even John Bull to masticate a Sheffield whittle, a Worcester teacup, or a Kidderminster carpet!'

Lord Anglesey forgot that the business of a Viceroy is to act, not to talk. During a formal visit to Cork in 1832 he complained that the people showed none of their former warmth in greeting him, and in replying to a deputation calling for the encouragement of Irish manufactures he discussed the memorial sentence by sentence, and with marvellous garrulity and amplitude of digression. 'For myself, I am suffering martyrdom between the parties;' and again: 'I found myself at variance with two parties which are

struggling for their own private and factious ends—retarding improvement, injuring the country, and obstructing the measures of the Government. One of those parties I have put down, and you want to mount and bestride them ; but that shall not be, for I will master you both ! And with respect to the Repeal of the Union,' turning abruptly from the point on which he had been dilating, 'to enable any impartial man to decide upon the advantage of such a measure, I would only ask him to visit the quays of Dublin, and I would there inquire of him, "What would become of this trade of the country if severed from England ?" What of your pigs, your corn, your butter ? Why, I would but ask my friend Sir P. Malcolm and four gun-brigs to blockade every river in your country.' The Viceroy here turned round and appealed to the gallant admiral, who bowed his concurrence.

Later on the Lord Lieutenant said, 'You call upon me for an inquiry into the circumstances of the military interference at the Blarney meeting.' Dr. Baldwin, as spokesman, replied that they did not mean to charge the military with having dispersed the meeting, but at the desire and by the instructions of Sir William Gossett. At the mention of this name the Viceroy exclaimed, 'There is no such person as Sir William Gossett. I am Sir William Gossett. He is my secretary ; I adopt his acts, and I will answer for them.'⁷

In succeeding letters the name of Boyton figures. The first allusion to him is in that of July 17, 1832.⁸

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Confidential.)

14 Albemarle St.: 21st February, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The conversation you had with Doctor Boyton fills me with pleasure. It is true it may

⁷ O'Connell often speaks of Lord Anglesey as 'vain, silly, sensitive, and despotic,' and it cannot be denied that some eccentricity marked the Viceroy's conduct and policy. Much of this was due to the state of his nerves, of which the world knew nothing ; but the private journal of his physician, Sir James Murray, is now before me, and reveals the extent of his suffering.

⁸ Ogilvie's *Imperial Dictionary*

explains 'a Conservative' as one of the political party which sprung up about the time of the passing of the Reform Bill. But the word was used by Boyton ten years previously. The Conservative Society had been organised and so styled by Boyton as a counterpoise to the Catholic Association ; and the word 'Conservative' was soon after adopted by the whole Tory party.

lead to nothing. It may be an ebullition of disappointed *expectation* on his part, but I hope it is rather a symptom of his really entertaining those sentiments of honest Irishism which I often and with pleasure perceive to mix with his party politics. He is, at all events, right in his conjecture that the policy of this Administration is purely *English domination* over the Irish of all parties. This is their principle. It requires only a rational calculation of self-interest to see whether it be *better* for any one party (better purely as a party) to join the English Government in advancing their domination, or to join the Irish people at large in insisting on the self-government of a domestic legislature. If Dr. Boyton comes to perceive that as a partizan he would be worse off than as a *repealing* Irishman, contrive some mode to let him know that I will most cheerfully co-operate with him and his friends. The basis of our co-operation shall be as distinct and explicit as he pleases. It shall be *as binding* me and mine *in writing*. It may be on his part merely verbal. I will bind myself to secrecy—that is, to observe the strictest silence on everything coming from him unless by his express permission in writing. I will require no secrecy or concealment by him of any thing coming from me, leaving him at his fullest discretion to publish or conceal, to communicate to the public or to a few, just as he pleases.

The full preservation of all vested interests would be an indispensable preliminary stipulation. No living man to be made worse than he is.

A total abhorrence of any approach to or attempt at, directly or indirectly, any Catholic supremacy. The perfect, entire, and honorable maintenance of Protestant equality of rights, franchises, honors and privileges.

He could not desire more precautions to avoid the possible infringement of these great principles than I should. I would, if possible, go before him in every such precautionary measures.

Put yourself, therefore, again in his way. Tell him also, and pledge yourself to him as a truth, that I have no

kind of personal hostility, not only towards him, whose talents and energies I respect, but towards *any* of his party. Urge upon him the obvious tendency of the Government management. One day they strike down Protestant monopoly; next day, they trample on Catholic freedom. Let him see how, in the Corporation reform, they strike down the last but powerful remnant of Protestant ascendancy. Communicate with him freely and without disguise. Pledge yourself to observe secrecy. Leave him at full liberty. Use my name directly. Acknowledge that you are authorized by me. Give him the substantial part of this letter. There are some expressions in it which I do not think it proper you should shew him by my authority. If I were to authorize you to shew it I would not leave one word which could offend. But, subject to this caution, give him, if you find him prepared for it, my entire sentiments in substance and effect.

Of course I would not join in any violation of the Law. My plan is to restore the Irish Parliament with the full assent of Protestants and Presbyterians as well as Catholics. I desire no social revolution, no social change. The nobility to possess lands, titles, and legislative privileges as before the Union. The Clergy, *for their lives*, their full incomes—to decrease as Protestantism may allow that decrease. The Landed Gentry to enjoy their present state, *being residents*.

Every man to be considered a resident who has *an establishment* in Ireland.

In short, salutary restoration without revolution, an Irish parliament, British connexion, one King, two legislatures.

You see how I run on, inspired by the pleasing hope of a reconciliation between all parties. On my part it shall be *most cordial, most sincere*.

All this may be only a day dream, but you have made me dream it. And it is delightful even as a vision. Would to God it could be realized.

Believe me always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Note by P. V. FitzPatrick.

I think it right to make the following memorandum with reference to the interesting letter which alludes to a conversation I had had with Doctor Boyton some days previously to its date. On that occasion Doctor Boyton asked emphatically 'whether it was not possible to find a *common ground* on which the two great Irish Parties could stand together?' I indicated the Repeal of the Legislative Union as the proper question to nationalize the antagonist parties, and having communicated Doctor Boyton's pregnant query to Mr. O'Connell, received from the latter the remarkable letter dated 'Feb. 21st, 1833.'

This letter reached me on the day on which it was supposed the Conservative Society would dissolve itself at a final meeting, to avoid the consequences of the Coercion Bills. I thought it incumbent upon me, therefore, to see Doctor Boyton before the meeting, with a view of reading to him Mr. O'Connell's propositions. Doctor B. politely acceded to my invitation, met me previously to the meeting, and heard the propositions with marked attention. He, however, declined to commit himself or his party in any way in a discussion of the topics, expressing at the same time his fears that the prejudices of those with whom he acted were, with relation to the Catholic people, wholly insuperable. 'They are actuated (he said) by an abstract detestation of Popery which seems to forbid all hope of coalition.' In conclusion, he required that the interview should not be made known, and that matters should stand as if it had never taken place, while he avowed his gratification at being informed so much in detail of Mr. O'Connell's sentiments respecting the Protestant Church and community, and he added that the fairness and liberality of the propositions reflected great credit upon Mr. O'Connell.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

[Fragment.]

1833.

See Sheehan, of the *Mail*, and tell him from me that all offers of conciliation on the part of the popular party are at an end, and that if anything can hereafter be done in that way the first step *must* be taken by the Orange party. We have done our share, and done it without any useful effect. In the meantime I do not, of course, expect—still less do I ask for—any personal forbearance. I am part of the stock-in-trade of *Abusers*: But, for my part, I will not, directly or indirectly, assail the individual with or through whom I have sought conciliation. As to Dr. Boyton, I really like the man. I am sorry, for his sake, that *we* must attack even the vested interests of the present incumbents.⁹ They have driven us to *this* position.

There is no letter of O'Connell's between February 21 and March 11, 1833. During this interval the Coercion Bill of Lord Grey engrossed all his thoughts. It was one of the most severe efforts of repressive legislation ever made by England. It was the angry answer of a powerful Government to the Irish demand for radical redress, but it cannot be denied that the state of Ireland was deplorable. Agrarian outrages and secret societies desecrated the land. 'Think,' exclaimed Peel, 'of 196 murders in one year! Why, you have gained glorious victories with less loss of life.' The following letter from John O'Connell, M.P., helps to fill the gap in his father's correspondence:—

John O'Connell to P. V. FitzPatrick.

House of Commons: 1st March, 1833.

My father has not spoken as yet, and will, I trust, be able to reserve himself for Peel, who is preparing to attack us. Peel's speech will be the most powerful and successful one made on the Coercion side of the question. Sheil made an admirable speech last night.

The majority—indeed, the great majority—of the House

⁹ The Irish parsons. Incidental to the campaign against Tithes.

will go with the Ministers throughout. Of the remaining members, many say 'they won't oppose the first reading' (as if a measure of this kind ought not to be opposed from the very outset), and some say that they will support the bill, first taking care that some of its clauses be modified in committee. It is needless to say that we are not to expect much assistance from such temporizing and timid *soi-disant* friends to Ireland. Stanley has admitted, almost in direct words, that the main objects of this atrocious bill are to destroy my father's influence in Ireland and to uphold tithes. There is no other inference that can be drawn from his words, altho' he endeavored to deny that the last-mentioned object was in contemplation. He said he did not mean the bill to support tithes, but that it should render safe the life and property of the clergyman. Who will dare to refuse paying tithes, with the terrors of a court-martial hanging over him? Every kind of constitutional opposition that can be made will be made to this bill by the Irish members. The country ought to second their efforts forcibly and at once, and to pour in petitions while as yet the right of petitioning is left inviolate.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 11th March, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—It lightens my heart to write to you. I am afflicted beyond measure at the conduct of many of the Irish members:¹ Lambert² of Wexford—

¹ In supporting the Coercion Bill.

² It is remarkable that Henry Lambert was encouraged in this policy by no less a person than the Patriot prelate Dr. Doyle, who thus concludes one of his letters: 'If, however, we are not to have good government or wise laws—and I see no prospect of either—I prefer Lord Grey's bill to any other less despotic measure. If we are to be subjected to a despotism, let it be the despotism of gentlemen, not of the brutal *canaille* composing the

Trades' Unions and Blackfeet confederacies. The honest and industrious people of this country will suffer less and prosper more under the iron rule of the constituted authorities—let these be whom they may—than under the yoke of the impious and seditious, who now torment them and drive them into all manner of folly and excess. I have not busied myself in examining the details of Lord Grey's bill. It is complete in its kind. There is no use in softening it. Let the terror of its intolerable severity pre-

atrocious ; Keane, of Waterford County—treacherous to the last degree ; Evans—very, very bad. But all this is idle.

We spent three hours to-day receiving Petitions against 'The Bill' from all parts of England and Scotland ; but one in favor of it, and that from Londonderry. This bill will throw out the Ministry. Sooner or later it *will* throw them out³—and what next?

The second reading will take place before we rise this night. Then the battle commences in the Committee. It will be a hard-fought fight in Committee, and I do believe that much of the Bill will be altered. But, take it in any shape, it is a measure of atrocious tyranny, and demonstrates that no Parliament but a local one can do justice to Ireland.

The murder of Leonard, near New Ross, is not only horrible in itself, but most unfortunate in point of time. This it is which breaks my heart. Yet I do not, and will not, despair for Ireland. I believe all that occurs in this country is working for good. It makes the cause of the Irish people connect itself with popular rights.

You have not sent me a list of anti-Corporation witnesses, with the address of each. It was said that there was a grand Petition on this subject coming from Dublin. Why does it not appear ? I ought, or somebody ought, to have it to present. The 20th is the day for going on with this subject—this most interesting subject. I will do the best I can to open up the Corporation in all its details. You should print the Petition in the newspapers ; if not, in another form, and let me have a printed copy. This is more important than can well be known in Dublin. If in the newspapers, send me one dozen copies. If we can get the Corporation monopoly put an end to, we will break a

vent the necessity for enforcing it ; but when enforced, let it go forth unrestrained.' (See *Life, Times, and Correspondence of Bishop Doyle*, vol. ii. p. 459. Dublin : Duffy.)

O'Connell denounced the recusant, and stigmatised him as 'Luttrell Lambert.' Luttrell was a name

odious to the Irish people. Colonel Luttrell betrayed King James II., and Luttrell, Lord Carhampton, proved a terrorist of the worst type in 1798.

³ Lord Grey resigned the Premiership within one year from this date.

gap in the enemy's fortifications. Could you send me a list of the Common Council, with each man's trade or occupation? I want to show how they violate Lucas' Act, which requires that every man should be of the Trade of the Guild which he represents. Look to this at once.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

For eleven nights a great struggle raged. O'Connell denounced Grey's Bill as 'the assassination of the Constitution.'

'If I advise you, it will be said I threaten; if I prophesy, I shall be taunted with provoking what I prophesy. Such is the miserable condition I am in that I cannot tell you of your danger without having it said that I am creating that danger. I abandon giving you advice. I know what is its value, but I avoid giving it. . . . You ask us to trample upon the Constitution, but you give us no proof that by so doing tranquillity will be restored to the country. . . . I tell you that tranquillity will not be restored until you do us justice.'

A number of English members joined in the protest, prominent amongst whom stood:—Grote, member for London; Hume, M.P. for Middlesex; Sir Wm. Molesworth, Warburton, Attwood, Cobbett, Ingilby, Humphry, Tynte, James, Henry Lytton Bulwer, afterwards Lord Dalling; and Edward Lytton Bulwer, whose name was a tower of strength. His speech was one of the ablest arguments delivered against the Coercion Bill; and he produced a marked effect when he read aloud some observations previously expressed by Brougham, including: 'Nor can you expect to gather in any other crop than they did who went before you, if you persevere in their utterly abominable husbandry of sowing Injustice and reaping Rebellion.'

It may, perhaps, be mentioned here that in 1833, when the Coercion Bill of Lord Grey became law, the number of outrages in Ireland was 6,547; while, one year later, after a diligent trial of it, they had augmented to 6,645.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 6th March, 1833.
Corporation Committee.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I do not as yet know when the Committee will be ready to go into the question of *Irish Corporations*, but I shall know to-morrow. Until a precise day is fixed it would be idle to summon —. Since I wrote the last page the Recorder has come in and the Committee have fixed this day fortnight, namely, Wednesday, the 20th inst., to go into the Case of Dublin. The Committee require the attendance of the Treasurer, Sir J. K. James, and of Mr. Archer, the town clerk. The Recorder proposes in addition to examine Alderman Beresford. Now for *our* side. I must get an authentic list of witnesses. I will not be allowed to summon in the first instance more than three or four witnesses at *the public expense*. Any other person who will *volunteer* to come over at *his own expense* will be examined. From what I have heard from various quarters I should propose to summon in the first instance Mr. McMullen, Mr. Maley the elder, Mr. Staines, and Sheriffs Peer White.⁴ Write to me at once, that is, after consulting with intelligent friends at the Chamber of Commerce as to what witnesses we should examine. Surely the one pound per day with travelling expenses, being what the Committees generally allow as expenses, ought not to be such an object as to keep in Dublin any independent witness. It is so important to *shew up* all the abuses in the Corporation that I should hope we will have many *volunteers* ready to be examined; I do not mean political volunteers. The more I know of the Committee, the more do I expect to have *all* Corporations thrown open. The great question is, *who* should be '*the Freemen*.' The £10 householders are those that are generally suggested. If Corporations were thrown open to *that extent*, then the other abuses will be easily *corrigible*. Pemberton I will also get summoned if I can. But recollect the great object is to throw the Corporations open to

⁴ Sheriffs Peers were a grade in the old Corporation of Dublin.

the inhabitants at large, and to have the new Corporators to investigate the frauds of the old and to look for legal or legislative relief. But the frauds now existing ought to be proved. You now understand me.

I do not despair of Ireland; Despotism is not as yet Law. The English public are certainly *rousing*, and I have reason to believe that by the delay of the bill we shall *emasculate* the Act at the very worst. The weakness of the Ministry is not as yet *seen*; but when they come to deal with England and taxation, and it appears how little the people will benefit by the Reform Bill, then we will have an English force of discontent which *may*, and, indeed, I think, *must*, shake this vile Administration.

I only smile at the attacks made on my character. I am so familiar with every species of calumny that, my good friend, it is really nothing but time lost to defend me. Allow everyone who chooses to abuse me to their heart's content. All the answer I will give is working as well as I can for our unfortunate country. Believe me that it was not possible to give so strong an impulse to Repeal by any other means in this country as by those coercive measures. In the House and out of the House many are daily declaring that they do not see any chance of justice for Ireland without a resident legislature.

You will see that some of our members have behaved *infamously*. This is the way with Ireland always; we have been turned into a province, and are now made slaves by our own miserable dissensions, or rather by the desertion of those who ought to assist but actually *stab* their country. Yet I do not despair. In recent years I have seen so many instances of measures intended to annihilate Irish Liberty turn out most beneficial to that very freedom which they were introduced to destroy.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: March 8th, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The entire day has been spent in presenting petitions against the atrocious bill. The

Government have become alarmed ; and, *only think*, they are mean enough to solicit *The Times* not to give full reports of the debate on the second reading of the bill ! There is one thing exceedingly in our favour : it is the reports arriving from Ireland of a run for gold in several places. This is creating the greatest alarm. The Bank of England, it is confessed, can not meet a three days' run ; and of necessity their notes will come in upon them if the run continues in Ireland. For my own part, I do not know what to do. The run injures friends as well as foes. I cannot think without apprehension of the worthy men I may injure if I call for gold. On the other hand, I am quite convinced that a general demand for gold would *now* at once stop the bill. Consult our best friends ; ask those who think the most soberly, and let me know what advice they give on this most vital subject. I wish I saw my own way. There is, however, this consolation, that the People of England are *being roused*. It would have pleased you to have seen the batch of petitions poured in on this subject. Believe me all this will tell well yet, and the Repeal, instead of being postponed, will really be advanced beyond any comparison more than I could have possibly expected. It embodies the lovers of liberty in this country with the Irish People.

There is no discovering with any certainty whether the Ministers mean to do anything about the Malt duties. You may be quite sure that it would not be safe to *speculate on any* information you may receive on this subject.

There never yet was a fellow *so busy* as I am. I never knew what it was to have every moment devoted to business so compleatly. I wish I could revise my long speech and publish it, as I learn from a most *powerful* source that it has made an impression. Perhaps this is an indulgence of my vanity.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

House of Commons : Friday evening.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Lord Grey is on his legs abusing agitation and agitators, but as yet not disclosing his mea-

sure of severity. I have the pleasure, however, to tell you that any such measures will be more stoutly opposed in the House of Commons when they arrive there than you or I would have supposed from the debates and majorities on the address. In the interval let us think of something more pleasing. You have seen that the Vestry Cess is to be abolished, totally abolished. Ten bishops to be dispensed with, and the management of ecclesiastical property to be committed to Parliamentary Commissioners. This is good for a *beginning*. It establishes valuable principles—first, that Parliament is to *cut down* the magnitude of the *establishment* (admitting, by way of parenthesis, that the establishment is too large) to a reasonable extent. It establishes, also, the parliamentary right to manage *that* species of property. I assure you it is deemed very defective—very short of what it ought to be in point of extinction of burthen, and this by the English members. In short, the work is going forward.

There is another matter also of vital importance—the renovation of the Corporations. I want some half dozen good witnesses to prove the entire System of Dublin Corporation abuses. Enquire and send me their names; men of information, coolness, and good sense. I mean to write again to-morrow to Mr. Roe, the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, on this subject. I take it that every £10 householder in Dublin will be a free man, and that none others will be free. I believe the City will be divided into wards or districts, and that the Common Council will be the representatives of such wards. The real representatives of the inhabitants will thus have the election of Sheriffs, Aldermen, &c. &c. In short, the present monopoly, political and religious, will, I believe, be annihilated, and the Corporation in all its offices will be as open and popular as the representation of Dublin in parliament is at present. Get me, however, good witnesses; I devote myself to *this* committee. We can compel unwilling witnesses to attend. The summons will be sent off on Monday for the witnesses *I mentioned* on the Corporation question. It is

a comfort that the monopoly should end *there*.—Believe me to be,

Yours very faithfully,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

14 Albemarle Street, London : Wednesday

My dear Barrett,—The die is cast. We are slaves. One more injustice has been committed towards Ireland. Let us now struggle for the double repeal—

First, of this new Algerine Act.

Secondly, of that Union which alone caused this Act to be passed.

I feel the awful duty imposed on me by the Volunteers. I will endeavour to perform it honestly at least, if not well.

Announce to the People of Ireland that I intend on every Monday, whilst the Algerine Act continues, to publish a letter to them in *The Pilot*. I will, please God, begin on Monday next.

I mean to take up in detail the necessary agitation in each county in Ireland. Our enemies shall not triumph over the people, nor put down the popular sentiment. We will still agitate within the Law, and without either moral guilt or legal offence.

Call on the people to be quiet, to bear with patience this new indignity. Let them hope for better days—and better days must soon arrive.

Give a caution to the atrocious Whitefeet.⁵ They have

⁵ The Whitefeet were mostly colliers in the Queen's County and Kilkenny mines. O'Connell's letter bears no date, but his allusion is explained by an address of Bishop Doyle 'to the deluded persons illegally combined under the unmeaning appellation of Blackfeet and Whitefeet.'

'Dearly beloved brethren,' he writes, 'for though the world may justly reject and condemn you, you

are still my children and the sheep of that fold, though you have strayed from it, of which I am the shepherd. I have but just returned from that portion of the collieries which are within my diocese, and from touching the lifeless corpses, covered with the blood of your companions, slain in the criminal and unprovoked attempt to rescue from the power of the law men accused and apprehended for offences which that law

played the game which the enemies of Ireland wished them to play. The execration of every good or honest man is upon their crimes; the vengeance of God will sooner or later be visited upon their wickedness.

How sincerely ought we not to detest the vilest of the vile Whitefeet—the last and worst of those villainous miscreants who have given strength to the enemies and weakened the friends of Ireland.

But still I do not despair of my country. No. Even in the crimes which are committed against her there arises a hope that these crimes will accelerate their own punishment, and create thereby that state of things which will ensure the speedy restoration of our national and constitutional independence.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

condemns.' He then sought to show that the League entered into by these men would only prolong and aggra-

vate the evils of which they complained.

CHAPTER IX.

The Run on the Banks—James Silk Buckingham—The Volunteers—Sir John Cam Hobhouse—'The Algerine Ministry'—Confusion in the Camp—The Whigs Beaten—Negro Emancipation—Barrett tried and imprisoned—The Ambition of O'Connell's Life—Remarkable Avowal—Reform Bill thrown out by the Lords—Resignation of Ministers tendered—The Throes of a Revolution—A Crisis—O'Connell helps the Whigs by Voice and Vote—Cordial Relations—Mr. Secretary Littleton—Called to order—Anonymous Gifts of Gold—A Labyrinth of Laws swept away—Mr. P. Lavelle—O'Connell's Speeches burked—Queen Adelaide—Feargus O'Connor—F. W. Conway—Ship Canals through Ireland—The Church Bill—A Judge holds his Court at Midnight—The Tories are gone for ever !'

IN previous letters reference is made to a run upon the banks for gold, as part of O'Connell's policy to worry a Government which worried him. Conway, of the *Dublin Evening Post*, whom Dr. Madden describes as the ablest journalist of his time, condemned with great severity the course now pursued by the Tribune, and noted from day to day the fatal drain of gold, which he called 'The O'Connell Cholera.' The run in Kilkenny, Clonmel, and Tralee is described; how even the Savings Banks were besieged; and on March 12, 1833, Conway says that on the previous Saturday upwards of 30,000 sovereigns were withdrawn from the Provincial Bank branches alone. Conway suggested that a clause be added to the Bill now before Parliament, making the notes of the Bank of Ireland and the Provincial Bank payable in Dublin alone, and security, he argued would be given at once to the country. A well-known picture, for which all three sat, represents O'Connell, Conway, and FitzPatrick united like a shamrock. Conway had helped O'Connell in the previous struggle for Catholic Emancipation, but the latter now felt his adverse power, and doubtless it was Conway's influence operating through FitzPatrick that produced the following letter:—

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London 13th March, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I will not call for a run for gold. I do myself believe that *I ought*. At this moment it would force the Ministry to give up the vile Coercion Bill. But I yield to the authority you mention, and I will not call for Gold; nor have I. But I cannot go farther. I cannot call on the country to refrain from doing that in favour of which my own private judgment certainly is. I give up my private judgment, but I cannot reverse it. You may rely on this, that I will not say one word in favour of a run.

Do not put any *letter* with the papers of Friday, because if the parcel does not come on Sunday I will not release it. One Monday they paid 6s. 4d. for the parcel which was delivered on that day. . . .

I have sent over orders for Maley,¹ John McMullen, James Vance, and Robert White. I could not get more orders for the present.² . . . I have *some chance* of being able to present the Chamber of Commerce Petition³ tomorrow. I will, of course, write fully when I do, but you have no idea of the impossibility of getting in Petitions except by throwing them on, or rather under, the table at two in the morning, so as to appear in the Votes. I will not do that, though I delay the Petition a little.

I am in better spirits than when I wrote last. I begin to think this bill will work good for the people of Ireland. I am now convinced it will accelerate the Repeal.

I have been speaking at a great meeting at Lambeth, and received better than ever I was in Ireland.

¹ Mr. Maley, though an authority on some points, was not always a desirable companion. A friend said to Pat Costello: 'I hear you and Maley are going up the Rhine together.' 'I would not go down the Dodder with him' was the answer. The latter is a small river in the vicinity of Dublin.

² Men willing to be examined as witnesses by the Committee on Corporate Abuses. (See letter of March 6.)

³ Commercial spirit received a stimulus in Dublin at this time by the visit of James Silk Buckingham, founder of the *Athenæum*. His mission was to agitate the question of Free Trade with India and China and to destroy the monopoly of the East India Company. The reports of the Chamber of Commerce at this period have been lost, but there can be no doubt it warmly co-operated in the movement.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 21st March, 1833.

My dear Friend,—The Bill, the Atrocious Bill, is *emasculated*. We have succeeded far beyond my hopes. It is now more a foolish than an infernal bill. To be sure it tramples on great principles, marking the rascality of those who bring it forward, but it contains little that is formidable in its powers.

I battled against it in despair, but—blessed be God!—not in vain. Last night I got a clause inserted taking away *all retrospective* effect whatsoever. The papers report us miserably. I cannot tell you how my heart is at ease. The press is left perfectly untouched. Hurrah!

Believe me always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The opening allusion in the following letter is to a speaker of semi-Demosthenic power, traditionally remembered as 'Orator Browne.' He was a town traveller for Guinness's Brewery, which led Pat Costello to say, on the occasion of some warm discussion at the Trades Political Union, that it was perhaps as natural for a patriot to represent a porter brewery as for a poet to represent a blacking factory, alluding to the lines in praise of Day and Martin with which the papers of the day were filled.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : March 23rd, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Tell my esteemed friend John Browne that I differ from him very much. I think his motion should be to direct *us* to remain for the good of the people of England and Scotland, and to advise us to take all steps consistent with principle to procure the dismissal of that weak and wicked Administration which has violated the Union and laid the seeds of discontent and national animosity between the two countries.

Something of this kind should be the motion made, not to desert our posts whilst we can *do good to any part of the*

people. You may also tell Browne to cheer his spirits, that we have cut down the worst provisions of the Bill. At present it continues to assert unconstitutional principles, but it does not give real power save to *disperse meetings* and, in addition, to crush Whitefeet.⁴ The latter is most desirable, but certainly need not have been purchased by a sacrifice of the most important of all rights—the *trial by Jury*. Believe me that the 'infernal bill' shall not retard the great Repeal Question.

Do not send me any more *cut up papers*. They are of no value.

A meeting of the 'Volunteers' or 'Friends of Ireland' was held on March 19, 1833, when Dominic Doyle moved and carried a vote of national confidence in O'Connell. 'One of the objects of the infernal statute,' he said, 'was to extinguish the political power of their illustrious countryman. The effect of this resolution would prove that O'Connell's political influence would be enhanced tenfold by the very attempt made to destroy it.' He moved that 'should the meetings of the Association be prohibited by any enactment, all the political power and influence now possessed by this body shall be confided to O'Connell, to be by him exercised in any way which he may deem most useful to the people of Ireland.' Lord Milltown, at the same meeting, referred to his own removal from the Commission of the Peace, 'because he presumed to differ in opinion as to the propriety of the measure proposed by the Minister.' As regards Mr. Doyle's motion, he held that it would be more dignified, more worthy of the Society itself, more beneficial to Ireland, and more disagreeable to their friends, if the Society would anticipate the result of the proposed measure and dissolve of itself, and he gave notice that at the next meeting he would bring forward such a motion.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

I beg of you to muster a force against Lord Milltown's motion. It would be pleading guilty to the accusations of

⁴ An Agrarian confederacy similar to the Whiteboys, Moonlighters, Terry Alts, and Rockites.

our worst enemies were we to dissolve. I should have been glad that Dominick Doyle's motion had been carried. It would have been a compliment to make me justly proud. But no matter. At all events I am most anxious that the Volunteers⁵ should be dissolved only by *proclamation*. We shall see whether the Government will proclaim us down, and not the Conservatives or Orange Lodges. This is worth waiting for. I wish Lord Miltown could be prevailed upon not to make his motion. Ireland owes him a deep debt of gratitude, which some day, I trust, shall be repaid.

Send me a compleat set of the Lessons used by the Education Board.⁶ I want them for a well-disposed but a little bigoted individual.

See Mr. Sheehan, of the *Mail*, again. Put your communication to him from me on the same footing with that to Dr. Boyton—he to be free to disclose all, I to be bound to the strictest secrecy. Ask him what security he would require from our party to his. I am for giving them every practicable and possible security. Would *they* take up the *Repeal* as founded on the basis of a local parliament for *local objects* merely, and the present 105 members to come over to the Imperial Parliament for all *general* purposes, as at present? In short, see what we can do to satisfy him and his.

Yours, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

London: 23rd March, 1833.

My dear Barrett,—I perceive that the patriotic Lord Miltown—who has endeared himself for ever to Ireland by joining her cause when it was betrayed by many and

⁵ 'The Volunteers' or 'Friends of Ireland' are among the names applied by O'Connell to his political associations, with the object of eluding the 'Algerine Act.'

⁶ O'Connell alludes to the re-

cently established system of National Education. He hailed it as a boon, believing that it would be impossible for any Government to ignore the demands of an educated democracy.

deserted by so very many more—has given notice of a motion to dissolve the ‘Volunteers.’ I wish I was in Dublin to dissuade him from bringing it forward. My conviction is, that if the ‘Volunteers’ were to dissolve themselves, it would be treated as an admission that they were an illegal assembly. My advice would be to obey any proclamation after the Act passes, but not to shrink from doing our duty until such proclamation shall have issued. It will be useful to know whether the new Algerine Act is to be executed partially or not. Pray endeavour to get somebody to prevail with his Lordship to withdraw his motion.⁷ The bill has gone through the committee. It has been much mitigated in its progress. I think you will say that some of the Irish members have done their duty, whilst others of them have well earned the strongest censure of the independent and honest part of their constituents. The Bill still contains some very despotic and cruel provisions, such as never could be inflicted on Ireland by a freely chosen parliament of her own. Indeed, no other argument is necessary to prove the overwhelming necessity of a Repeal of the Union, save that arising from the passing of this Bill. We must have that Repeal, or our country will be desolate and miserable for ever. I am glad to be able to add that I know several violent opponents in politics who now agree with me that Ireland must be a nation, and not a province. Recollect that we are eight millions.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : Wednesday, April 3d, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Put down as the first Item in *any* new account between the public and me £100 sent me in an anonymous letter. Set it down thus to begin: Anonymous in England, £100.

I got it in a letter just stating that it was sent as earned

⁷ Lord Milltown withdrew the motion.

by me by my expenses and services to my country. I have not the least trace of the quarter whence or the person from whom it came. It is one of those strange fantasies of personal kindness to myself such as I believe no other man ever received, and which, of course, I can not deserve.

I never knew a more foolish mistake than that which relates to my opposition to an *amendment* in the bill. You say I opposed an amendment prohibiting the Lord Lieut. from proclaiming any district by reason of *disturbances* arising from tithes. How could you be so gulled?

I opposed a claim declaring that the Lord Lieut. should not proclaim a district to be in a state of disturbance and outrage *merely because tithes were not paid*.

I opposed this clause as foolish, and also because it was hypocritical, leading people to believe precisely what it seems you believe—that it prevented the Lord Lieut. from proclaiming any district by reason of *disturbances* arising from the payment or nonpayment of tithes.

The *True Sun* took up this silly—pardon me—view of the matter, and attacked me. I have not time to defend myself.

I have passed the bill for the Chamber of Commerce through the second reading, and will, I trust, get it through the House of Commons the week after the recess. Tell this to some of my friends in the Chamber. It repeals effectually the obnoxious clause under which the mayor has bound the ship captains. Let Mr. Brophy in particular know that I am attending to this business.

The Corporation witnesses fully proved our case; that is, they fully and indeed candidly admitted the exclusive nature of the Dublin Corporation, including the nomination of the Sheriffs, who return all juries to the highest courts of Law. I have reason to know that the Committee are perfectly satisfied that we must have a full reform. That reform, if the leading Corporators would join me, we could have at once and amicably; but if it be postponed until next session, it will come under the English precedents and be *sweeping*, as the English corporation reform certainly will

be. I do not expect that the leading Corporators are as yet sufficiently aware of their danger, but they can not reasonably blame me. It was no object to me to make their witnesses contradict each other, or to irritate or provoke hostility. I knew that, if they denied *exclusiveness*, or the exclusive nature of the nomination of Sheriffs, I could easily prove the fact as it really is. This is the hinge on which the reformation of Corporations turns; namely, how far there is a *monopoly* in a *part* of any town or city of corporate rights, and above all, how far that monopoly includes 'the administration of Justice.' In this essential point the Corporation of Dublin is manifestly within the 'category' of those cases which require imperatively reform, and of course *total* alteration. You see, therefore, that I want no adverse witnesses to prove *this* case: The plan of *eight wards* in Dublin, the £10 householders being the electors, four Aldermen to be elected by each ward, and eight Common Council men. The 25 guilds to consist each of the trade for which it was instituted. No title to constitute freedom to a guild save *apprenticeship*. The guild of *real* merchants to return four members to the Common Council, each other guild to return one Common Council man. Such is the outline. It will identify the people with the new Corporation.—In haste,

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To P. V. FitzPatrick.*⁸

London: 18th April, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I do not know whether Sheehan and the Conservatives are angry with me or not, but I do know that I behaved to them as you could wish. If there had been a sturdy English Chairman they would not have got off so well, that is certain.

What are the Conservative Society⁹ to do? To shrink *from* the proclamation I suppose, and so to confess them-

⁸ This letter bears a large seal inscribed 'Repeal of the Union.'

⁹ Rev. Dr. Boyton's Association.

selves unworthy. I do perceive *that it is believed* that the 'Trades Union' will also hold out the white feather. It is just the course I should have expected from *some* of the most burly amongst them; but I did hope that there was at bottom a fund of honest manliness which would go more than the poor length of meeting a proclamation, and so yielding in preference to avoiding to assemble, and by such shrinking to admit that they merited the appellation of '*dangerous.*' It certainly would have had a better effect if they had acted as boldly as the Volunteers did—especially as the suppression of a 'Trades Union' would have had a strong effect on the Unions in this country. Can you discover who it was advised them to take the cowardly course?

I was defeated in point of numbers, but most triumphant in the argument on the Proclamation of the *city of Kilkenny*. I intend to bring it on again in another shape on Monday next. One of the leading men of the Government said to me in private, *it was a most unwise proclamation*. Anglesey will not reign long, nor indeed will the Whigs. In Ireland you have no idea of the progress of the public mind in this country. It is going forwards in *our* direction. I am sure you are not losing sight of the arrangements for Antrim.¹ You will, I perceive, find difficulties from some of the bishops. It will require all your zeal, activity, and friendship to make anything of it. I apprehend much want of success. Another year like the last would *compleat* me. But these are dreams.

Hobhouse is a most inefficient Secretary. I have not much to contend with in point of ingenuity or force. Stanley's venom answered the English rascals much better. Hobhouse is only milk and water. I am pressing Hobhouse to immortalise himself by a Reform of the Corporation of Dublin.² Who knows?

¹ In 1832 Edmund MacDonell had fought Antrim closely with Lord Belfast. O'Connell never lived to see Antrim return a Liberal.

² Sir John Cam Hobhouse, the friend and executor of Byron, filled

for a short time, previous to the appointment of Mr. Littleton, the uncongenial post of Chief Secretary for Ireland. He afterwards became Lord Broughton. Died 1869.

I get the Sunday's parcel regularly. Perhaps it is not right for me to set the work *a doing* on that day.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: April 27th, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—All is confusion in the 'Camp of Agramont.' I have no doubt that the scoundrel Algerine Whigs are out, and I have done my best to give them the last kick. The base hypocrites, with Liberty in their mouths and tyranny of the worst kind in their hearts! The fact is, it is impossible for them to remain in.³ Last night we got rid of the one half of the malt tax, and it is certain that they must repeal the house and window tax. Thus between both they never can *progress*, as the Americans call it. I said one month ago that they could not possibly hold together. The meeting at the *Crown and Anchor* decided their fate. The conduct of those who met there was actually rebellious. I was the only moderate man, or who confined himself within legal bounds. These things are, of course, only between *us*. But in reality nothing could be more violent than the conduct of the Meeting. I was received as well as an Aggregate in Clarendon Street *could, would, should, or ought* to receive me.⁴

I am, as you perceive, in great spirits. The Whigs must go out, the Tories cannot come in. The people of England will have cheap government. They cannot be hectorred over like the poor unfortunate Irish. It is here—

³ On April 26 Sir William Inghilby moved the reduction of the malt tax from £1 0s. 8d. to 10s. per quarter, which was carried by 162 to 152; but on April 29 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp, moved an amendment (to Sir J. Key's motion for the window and house tax) restoring the malt tax, which was carried by 285 to 131.

⁴ Aggregate meetings in furtherance of Catholic Emancipation had been held in the capacious chapel, Clarendon Street, Dublin. It belonged to Carmelite friars, and was therefore out of the control of Archbishop Murray, who had prohibited political assemblies in the secular churches of his diocese.

it is here that the Repeal is to be carried. You have no notion of the state of the public mind. The day of the Tories is gone by, and everyone asks, What next? The Ministry have been sitting in Council since three o'clock, but no doubt can be entertained of the result. The Ministry must resign this day or to-morrow, and no Ministry can now go on without a property tax.⁵ That is a tax which will rouse the *personal* patriotism of all the Aristocracy. The battle between the landlords and the fundlords is raging. The monied interests would not give us cheap currency; and now the people at large are not able, or at all willing, to pay the dividends in gold.

I am writing at Brook's amidst many doleful faces. How I triumphed over that scoundrel party who introduced the Coercion Bill! I really would prefer the Tories to this Algerine Administration. But the best of it is that we will not have either. It is, however, in the agitation of the English mind, and of the English people, that Irish safety consists. The Algerine Ministry, and that greatest of vagabonds, Anglesey, would easily trample on us, but that the people of England are in a state not to be trifled with. I do trust, hope, and begin to believe, that within one fortnight I will be allowed to bring in a bill to repeal the Despotism Act. Hurrah!!

The Report of the Volunteers was an excellent quiz.⁶

I want one hundred guineas. If you can send them to me you will greatly oblige

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: May 18, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—. . . As yet no Secretary for Ireland. A Mr. Carter was spoken of, but is not to be the man. My own belief is that Mr. Littleton, member for

⁵ On August 11, 1803, 'the property tax' passed, but in March 1816 was repealed.

⁶ One of the amusing pasquinades which FitzPatrick loved to throw off.

Staffordshire, is to be the man. He is supposed to be of a calibre sufficient to keep that crazy Lord Anglesey in check. In fact the great difficulty that the Government have is to manage that exceedingly foolish and vain man. I am in great hopes that the trial of Walsh for a speech on the evidence of an informer employed by a Government newspaper as a Reporter, will give the *coup-de-grâce* to Lord Anglesey and his very scoundrelly Attorney General.

I go down after Mass to-morrow to Birmingham to attend the great meeting for the removal of Ministers. I intend to be back in my place in the House on Tuesday. I believe I will have no difficulty in disfranchising Carrickfergus.

I have seen the Vintners' deputation, and got them to assent to so much of the bill as overrules the rascally discretion of the Magistrates. I have also brought them to the single question, Whether the Grocers should be licensed to sell spirits on their premises or not. This is a question of great importance, which no person but those in the Government should be called on to decide, and it is one which must ultimately fall on the Government to decide. I advised the Vintners' deputation to wait on Spring Rice⁷ on the subject, and I beg of you to call on — and tell him. I think there should also be a deputation from the Grocers to sustain their interests. Whatever way the Government determines will be decisive.

Are you preparing your plans of the Autumnal Campaign?

Littleton has accepted the Irish Secretaryship. He will be announced on Monday.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ The Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Lord Monteagle, previously an Irish member of advanced political views. He had represented Limerick; and intro-

duced—soon after the erection of his statue in that city—a bill to prevent the defacement of public monuments.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 2nd May, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have the most sincere satisfaction in complying with the Rev. Dr. Boyton's⁸ request, and no request could give me greater pleasure than one coming from him. I agree entirely in the principle on which the exemption of the present fellows⁹ rests. They have purchased by unremitting labour the vested right to succeed to the College livings, and most certainly ought not to be the only class of clergymen excluded from the benefit of the exemption. I will therefore put forward or support their claim, as may be deemed most useful to their interests. I will consult Lefroy on this subject, or the Recorder, without mentioning *the request*.

The truth is, we shall know one another better soon, and then—hurrah for Ireland 'a Nation, and not a Province!'

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

May 10th, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Hurrah! Hurrah for old Ireland! The scoundrel Whigs are beaten again. Evans is returned by a small majority of 67, but it is as good as 6,700. This is the strongest proof of the utter impossibility of the Whigs continuing in office. Burdett must now resign, as he declared that he would not sit with Evans.¹ Nothing can exceed the consternation amongst the rascals who carried so triumphantly the bill to make silly Lord Anglesey despotic. That silliest of silly creatures is really the cause of all the loss of character which this Ministry have sustained. You have no notion of the depreciation of the

⁸ See letter of 21 February, 1833.

⁹ The Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin.

¹ Colonel De Lacy Evans, who

had beaten Sir Francis Burdett, after a very riotous election, as candidate for Westminster.

Ministers in the public mind by reason of their total dereliction of principle. We are working them out, believe me, and the paltry set that now rule Ireland will soon find themselves deserted by all parties.

I have seen the Government plan for Negro emancipation.² It contemplates a loan of fifteen millions, and a working out of this loan by the negroes. It will never, never do.

No Secretary for Ireland, and as yet no likelihood of getting one.

I am on the Committee of Trade, and I want witnesses from Ireland, not foolish *prosperity* men such as Rice had examined, but men who know and can detail the distresses of our Trade, Shipping, and Manufactures. Speak to MacDonnell and others on this subject, and let me have good witnesses. I wrote to Mr. Thomas Jameson on this point for the Chamber of Commerce. He had written to me for a Parliamentary Report for that body. . . .

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 27th May, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—There is a Mr. Blood will call on you for £31; pay it to him. It is to close expenses of the Youghal Election.

See Sheehan and Dr. Boyton. Speak to them confidentially of the trial of Barrett.³ This Ministry is *tottering*.

² The Liverpool constituency had been Liberal until the Whigs abolished the Slave Trade. Its merchants lost so much by this change that they resented it, and the strong Conservative tone of the constituency may be dated from that time. Mr. Gladstone's maiden speech was in defence of the West Indian slaveholders.

³ Richard Barrett, Editor of the *Pilot*, was prosecuted for having published a letter of O'Connell's which had also appeared in an

English journal, the *True Sun*. The letter was said to be libellous, but the *True Sun* was not subjected to a prosecution. Barrett was found guilty, sentenced to pay a fine of £100 and to be imprisoned for six months. Had the original MS. been forthcoming, O'Connell himself might have been prosecuted. The MS. was entrusted to John Quinlan, afterwards editor of the *Evening Post*, and it still remains in the custody of his family.

Sheehan, of the *Mail*, whom O'Con-

If they are defeated on *that* trial, it will be decisive of Anglesey's fate *at least*, probably of the existence of the Whigs. It is Ireland that is keeping them in. *This* defeat would shake them to the centre.

Barrett's Jury is high Tory. If Sheehan or Dr. Boyton wish to lay me under an everlasting obligation, NOW IS THE TIME. I may never have an opportunity to shew my gratitude, but I also *may*, and most certainly I *would* shew it with drops of my heart's blood. I have forgiven and forgotten one thousand injuries, I never yet forgot an act of kindness. Some think I carry my sense of gratitude too far; I never think I can carry it far enough. Look to this discreetly. You can, I believe, vouch for my not being ungrateful. If we could but get a fair and impartial Jury, Barrett would certainly be acquitted.

How can you be so weak as to credit any idle story of my being about to be called to the English bar, or to stay in this country? I am wedded to Ireland for life, whatever may be my Dower. I do believe that, if I chose, I could be Master of the Rolls in *this* country. But keep this fact to yourself. I would not accept the office of English Chancellor. In short, my ambition and my pride, as well as my first and most sacred duty, bind me to struggle for Ireland—and I will struggle for her to the last. Do you know that I confidently expect success? England can never again *face* danger without being compelled to do justice to Ireland; and the moment that the Protestants forget ascendancy and consent to endure equality with cordial good temper, we will be too strong for our enemies. My hopes are high and not remote, *because the tendency of this country* is decidedly for a change in its institutions, which *must* give us an opportunity to be nationalised once again.

Tell Croker, Codd and Co. I will write to them so soon

nell tells FitzPatrick to see confidentially, had uniformly sought to weaken the popularity and degrade the character of the 'Arch Agitator,' as he styled him. Sheehan charged O'Connell with having allowed Barrett to

suffer for an act of which the Agitator was guilty, and, with his usual fearlessness, accused the Government with having designedly allowed him to escape. (See letter of July 17, 1832, and its sequel.)

as I can see Mr. Rice on their business. The law is monstrous, and their case one of the greatest hardship. I will leave no stone unturned to get them redress.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : Saturday, June 1st, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have a thousand things to say to you, and little time to say them in. In the first place, the remarks on the Corn Laws are very shrewd and sensible. He is a clever man who made them, and if a *constituent*, whether friendly or otherwise, I should be glad to receive any communication from him. I am myself an abolitionist, but *if the Corn Laws are to remain* the suggestions for their improvement are truly valuable. State why you did not communicate *the name of the suggester*.

Now for another point. Lord Ingestre is gone down to Staffordshire. A Tory in my presence offered to lay 5 to one that he would defeat Mr. Littleton. If he do, the Ministry must resign, or if they totter on, it can be only for a few weeks. Keep what I tell you quite private. A friend of mine told me that Lord Munster personally told *him* that the King was making his final arrangements to turn them out.⁴ This, you see, is pretty close to the throne. But then they have support near that throne from a notion that they have so strengthened themselves in Ireland, that they are able to controul and keep down *all parties* in that country. The defeat of Barrett's prosecution would shake them to the centre, but what prospect is there of such defeat? The Irish ascendancy men, although some of them are more clear-sighted, yet in general they are so blinded by their *former* passions that they do not see how much it is their real interest to get rid, at all events, of this Ministry. What good, for example, will it do *that party* that Barrett should be imprisoned or fined? What will *they* gain by it? On the other hand, an acquittal would finish the career

⁴ This he did. (See p. 503 *infra*.)

of this Ministry by dissipating the illusion of their Irish power.

The indictment is one intended to suppress the agitation of the repeal of the Union. It states it to be *seditious* to bring the Union into what the Law calls *contempt*. It is *also* strange that the ascendancy party will not perceive that, if they allow the Repeal thus to be condemned, they destroy one of the weapons that *it might* be very useful for them to bring forward again, as they have done before, at least to the extent of *threats* of injuring that measure. In short, more depends on a defeat of this prosecution than can well be calculated; whilst, on the other hand, little or no benefit will be achieved to *any* Irish party by its success.

See Barrett, and tell him he *shall* certainly hear from me by Monday's post. John writes to him this day. You must contrive before his trial to give him £50 on my account. This is essential. I must and will cheerfully take care that no *pecuniary damage* reaches him directly or indirectly.

Leave your direction after you, that my letters may be forwarded to you during your absence. We have got his compensation for Fox Dickson, and I am in hopes of knocking up the Whitehaven shipping monopoly where it interferes with the Price of coals in Dublin.—Believe me always,

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 4th June, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I wrote to you yesterday to say that I had a sudden demand for £500. I would wish you could get it on my bill at three months from private hands without getting into circulation. . . . I want at once £200 here and £100 for Barrett. Let him know you will give him £100 in lieu of the £50 I mentioned before. . . . I must, of course, bear all his extra expenses as well as make him pecuniary compensation for anything he may suffer.

I write in the morning to say that the Ministry have resigned. All things are in a state of confusion. It can do us no harm that they should resign. All must be for the better.

I wrote to Croker, Codd and Co. after my interview with Spring Rice.⁵ That interview was satisfactory.

This is the very crisis of the fortunes of the Whigs. If they get a dominion over the Lords by new creations they may go on, but if not, they are lost for ever. The people are against them, and the King detests them. More news if possible in my second edition.

Believe me, yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 4th June, 1833. $\frac{1}{2}$ past six.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I delay to the last moment to give you intelligence, but in vain as to anything decisive. The Ministry must resign. Whether they shall be brought back by *the people* or not is another question. **THEY MUST RESIGN.** In fact, Lord Grey is gone for that purpose to Windsor. He is not yet returned. This visit will decide all, as he must get power to create peers, or he and his party are gone for ever. It is not *safe* to prophesy as to what will so speedily be known, but my opinion decidedly is that this Ministry cannot longer hold together, and that their efforts to conquer the King must fail. *They actually WANT the power to make at least twenty-five peers.* They have not *now* the popular voice with them, although they have a great majority of the House of Commons. A new Ministry, strictly Tory, could not endure. It would be, according to Talleyrand's phrase, '*Le commencement de la fin.*' Keep up the spirits of the friends of Ireland. Every change is to serve again under the Duke of Wellington or not.

Look to a speedy dissolution, and let my friends see

⁵ Chancellor of the Exchequer.

whether, with a Tory Government, it would not be better for me to return to Kerry. But I care little about that point. I will, of course, write again to-morrow. Everything is at sixes and sevens. It is a comfort to have this scoundrel Administration in trouble.—In haste,

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 5th June, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Tell Barrett,⁶ to whom I have despatched a letter, that Lord Grey is come back from Windsor. The King declared he would not accept his resignation, *but he did not promise to make peers*. I told you there would be a resignation. The papers and the Ministerialists denied it. You see the resignation has been tendered. *They must have done it*; and now we are in an attitude to assail the Peers. The war begins to-morrow. We have again an adjournment. The Speaker is most conveniently sick—quite *à propos*. You have no idea of the great revolutionary feeling that is afloat. This, I repeat, is the Crisis. The Lords must become cyphers. I am taking a strong part with the Government, and have had the honour of some of their confidential communications; but this to be to yourself, not to be printed or communicated, save to Barrett privately. Give Barrett the £100. A little bird whispers me, 'No prosecution.' But no matter. You will hear again from me to-morrow.

We are in the throes of a civil revolution.

Yours ever,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.⁷

⁶ Editor of the *Pilot*.

⁷ A prominent feature in O'Connell's letters is the bold distinctness of the signature which franked them to their destination. The illegible way that many public men often in pure affectation scrawled their names had been a torment to the Post Office. Lord Walsingham was asked by the Princess Augusta for a frank, and

he wrote one for her in characters so vile, that the letter, after having wandered over Great Britain, was opened and returned to her as illegible. The Princess complained to Lord Walsingham, and he then wrote the frank for her so legibly that after two days it came back to her marked 'FORGERY.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 7th June, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write on receipt of the £492 3s. 10d. draft, to acknowledge it and to return the draft accepted. You have done the thing in the best possible way. No person could be more anxious to husband resources than I am; but, alas, my expenses in the public service are enormous. I doubt exceedingly the success of this year, and if success there be it will be all your own good management.

Yours, &c.,

D. O'C.

To Richard Barrett.

(Confidential.)

7th June, 1833.

My dear Barrett,—First as to politics. I joined the Whig Ministry last night, and contributed perhaps a good deal to the extent and satisfactory nature of their victory. I have helped them at this crisis, which, however, is not yet over. The Duke of Wellington has the Peers, and will try another battle. There is a kind of interregnum; how it will end is uncertain, but this quite clear, that the Tories cannot possibly hold Power. In the meantime Germany is in the actual throes of a revolution. 'Wait a while.'

My speech and vote last night gave me a *proper introduction* to Mr. Littleton.⁸ If any thing can be done it is now. I am, I think so at least, formidable as an enemy. I have shown an act of unmerited friendship. We shall see whether anything can be done. Littleton will be in town this day. *Act*, however, on your part as if there was no chance of anything but trial and conviction. The question is, how you *will* act. You perceive that I recognise my pecuniary obligations. All *extra* expenses, all usual expenses and compensation as far as money and my means can compensate for personal sufferings—such are my duties towards you. What shall be your conduct? I would not

⁸ The new Chief Secretary for Ireland.

have put the question but for your letter through Lynch. I object to your consulting Staunton.⁹ He has been at every critical moment of my political life my enemy—on the 40s. freeholds, on the Union, on the attachment motion. What a difference between his conduct and that unfortunate Lavelle¹ on that motion! It was with difficulty that I could get a respite in point of time from Staunton, whilst Lavelle made up his mind and gave it in writing as his determination not to give me up, although he had from my own lips the avowal that the letter was mine. I have not shown any gratitude whatsoever to Lavelle. To Staunton's interest I have been much attached. I do not deserve from him hostile advice, and I deprecate your being led by him. In fact, Staunton was the first man at the Irish press that announced the doctrine of giving up authors to screen publishers, forgetting that the publishers, and none more than Staunton, reject what they please and publish that which will promote their circulation: all the profit that can be derived from the transaction belongs to the publishers. John Magee² did not betray Grattan; Eneas McDonnell³ did not betray Scully, nor did FitzPatrick.⁴ The three were content with having the pecuniary expenses made good. But I have said enough on this subject; more, indeed, than I should if Staunton's advice did not make part of your letter.

The facts between us are these: I never concealed from you the state of the Law, nor the fact that every letter I ever published *could* be declared a libel. I described the Libel Law as that which could produce a conviction with a proper Judge and Jury for the Lord's Prayer with due legal inuendoes, as they are called. There was, and is, nothing to be tried between me and the Government on any of my letters. Conviction to me must be certain. Why, then, did I publish in your paper?

⁹ The Editor of the *Register*.

¹ Proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*.

² Proprietor of the *Dublin Evening Post*.

³ Proprietor of the *Cork Chronicle*.

⁴ Hugh FitzPatrick, a Roman Catholic publisher of Dublin, was fined £200 and imprisoned for eighteen months, in consequence of one note in Scully's *Statement of the Penal Laws*.

Because you knew the risk and accepted it. If I had not thought that you did, if you had not told me as well emphatically by actions as by words that you did, I would not have published in Ireland at all. Upon the attachment motion your conduct was still more straightforward and unequivocal than Lavelle's. In short, you left no doubt on my mind as to our relative positions. When I began to publish in the *True Sun* I mentioned my terms. I said, 'I pay all, you take the personal suffering.' It was agreed to at once. I also may be mistaken, but am convinced that there never yet was a moment of my political life in which it was so essential to the interests of Ireland that I should be *at large*. My power of locomotion in England as well as in Ireland is, I think, essentially necessary, for the sake of Ireland, to be preserved at this critical juncture. To be sure, I may be mistaken; I may be deceiving myself; but I would not have published one line in Ireland if I thought such publication would put me in a situation to be withheld from action for *three years*, a period which the Court of King's Bench would readily inflict on me.

You urge against me that I ought not just now attend the Birmingham meeting and other meetings. You do not know the Whigs. To be respected by them they must feel one to be a formidable enemy. They have always courted their enemies. I look to success *with* them only from attacking them with virulence until they believe me formidable. If I was sentenced there would be no chance of mitigation without absolute and entire debasement; at least a resignation of my political career. I should therefore have been mad if I were to publish in Ireland without *considering* myself safe from personal detention.

You now know my sentiments. Except from your letter, which I call the Staunton letter, I always heard you concur with me in these views. I only add that the pecuniary obligations are mine, and mine alone. I think the personal suffering, subject certainly to the right to the fullest compensation within my power, is yours. I do not hold out hopes which may be idle and deceptive. You

will act as if I held out none. But it is to me a consolation to be convinced that, as in Tracey's case, the persuasion that I could *not* be reached would alone operate to terminate the suffering.

I deem it right to be thus candid and explicit. There is not one word in this letter that can be construed into a reproach or a suspicion as between you and me. I only for the present reply to Staunton's advice. I left his paper altogether ⁵ *simply* because of our difference on that point.

Believe me to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : June 11th, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I send you for Barrett £50, a cheque on the Hibernian Bank, to make up the £100. . . .

With respect to the indictment against Barrett, the only way it could be laid as an offence to repeal the Union is by intimidation. It would not be an offence otherwise. Therefore the Government roguishly laid it that way. But in the article itself there is not one word of intimidation, so that they must be unwise Repealers who do not see through the scheme. But, alas for Ireland, there are some of her people always ready to fall foul of the rest, and this is the cause of our present degradation.

The Ministry are running out their career. 'Wait a while ;' a little while will place us upright.

Your letter this day cheers me.

Believe me always, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : Monday, June 13, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I got your advice on the Repeal too late to be of any use, as the question was decided by

⁵ As a vehicle for publishing these wonderful public letters, which, like a trumpet blast, daily awakened the national aspirations of his country.

us here on the day your letter is dated. But I am bound in candour to tell you that the advice of my friends in Dublin would not induce *me* to consent to bring it on this Session, because I know that any rational discussion upon it is impossible in this advanced and complicated state of the public business. We should have been either deprived of a house by members going away, or we should be treated with contempt and ridicule by men who are now thinking of nothing else save *escaping* from London and getting rid of the Session. You have no idea of the effect which must be produced in this country as well as in Ireland by the total and ludicrous failure of the attempt to debate it *now*. It would literally be equal only to the plan of 'privateering after the war.'

I have given my notices for the *first* day of the next Session. I will bring them on the next thing after the King's Speech is dismissed. I will begin the actual and immediate preparation of my speech from this moment. Every day will add to my materials or to the arrangement of them.

See Barrett the moment you receive this, and tell him I will begin my publications again in the *True Sun* of Monday unless I hear from you by that post, desiring me to postpone. It is necessary that I should shew the Irish nation my reasons in detail for opposing discussion this Session, and commence my operations to be prepared for the new. Every day's experience convinces me that with a little perseverance we shall carry the Repeal as the people carried the Catholic question, and now are carrying the *actual* abolition of tithes. The first step was taken last night. I had certainly a great triumph in the decision of the Speaker, who, while he decided I was disorderly in calling the 'shouters' ruffians, decided that they deserved the appellation by being equally disorderly. I made a much better speech than is reported—at least *so I think*.

One great reason why I would not bring on the Repeal this Session is, that it would give a fictitious patriotism to men who have been voting badly through three fourths of

the Session ; and indeed it is just such men who in general are for forcing it on at present. Only think of men who have supported the present Algerine Ministry against the people of England on questions of taxation *working up* their popularity by giving a vote for Repeal just at the moment when no rational result could ensue, for the idea of bringing in a Repeal bill at this time of the Session is quite ridiculous, even if there were a majority in its favour.

I repeatedly urge Spring Rice on the subject of the claim of Croker, Codd and Co., and I get repeated promises of doing them justice. I will now press for *the returns* on the subject of the Liffey bill.⁶ I am promised to have my bill pass the Lords without more delay.

Believe me to be,

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell's repeated references to the claims of Croker, Codd, & Co. led the present writer to make inquiry on the point, and the result justifies a page or two. Croker, Codd, & Co. were corn factors. The law required that every maltster should bind himself in two securities to the Crown. The factor was generally the surety for the country maltster, often to the extent of £1,000, and made pecuniary advances to him as well. Most maltsters smuggled, and discovery entailed a penalty of £500, which often fell on the factor. Mr. Codd is not now living to explain the case which engaged O'Connell's attention and that of the Treasury, but two letters have been found among Mr. Codd's papers which make it clear. The first is a copy of a letter to O'Connell dated May 23, 1833, in which the writer alludes to the 'known anxiety of their member to protect the interests of his constituents and of the little trade that still remains with Ireland,' and encloses a memorial, previously submitted to the Treasury, in which a case of some hardship is told. It describes a seizure of malt against which Mr. Codd had made an advance, and prayed that this ad-

⁶ The commerce at the Port of Dublin had greatly increased, necessitating new docks. Other improvements were effected by the Ballast Board, including the dredging

the bed of the Liffey with a view to render the channel sufficiently deep for the navigation of vessels of 1,400 tons.

vance might be returned. A reply from 'My Lords,' or a clerk in their name, declined to interfere. The Treasury, in effect, decided that the fair dealer was to be made the victim of a fraud in which he did not participate, and which he could neither prevent nor discover until too late. 'My Lords,' however, had to deal with no ordinary man. The late Francis Codd, J.P., afterwards chairman of some public companies, and secretary to the Chamber of Commerce, now appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, calculating on O'Connell's influence to ensure a careful consideration of the claim. From the year 1667 malt had been liable to duty, and at least eighty statutes had been passed concerning it down to the 11th of George IV. This perplexing labyrinth of laws has since been swept away, and it seems not unlikely that the following letter helped to accomplish that end:—

'In the regular exercise of our business and the usual course of trade,' writes Codd, addressing Spring Rice, 'we remitted to the maltster an advance against a quantity of malt consigned to us to sell for his account. The law vested that property in us; it was ours to the extent of our advance, but by the exercise of a despotic excise law that property was seized and sold by public auction, and the proceeds applied to the payment of duties due by the maker, altho' by the present Malt Law the owner was empowered to consign to us that malt as duty paid, and we were deprived of any means of ascertaining whether the duty had been actually paid or not, and although the Excise had taken and were in possession of those securities which the law required them to take for the full protection of the Revenue. Under these circumstances, to enforce to our injury a mere technical right of the Crown, meant only for the defeat of collusion and fraud, would be to violate every principle of commerce, to outrage every dictate of justice, and directly to destroy all the confidence of trade. What merchant or factor with this unjust decision before him will hazard his property by purchasing or advancing against exciseable goods of which he may be arbitrarily but legally plundered without hope of redress? The law is radically wrong; 'tis the innocent man alone whom it can prejudice, the swindler only puts it into operation. Surely a power so essentially unjust and despotic should be exercised, if at all, only for the punishment of fraud, and

not for the ruin of honest industry. The privileges of the Treasury were never intended for the indiscriminate enforcement of every severe enactment, but for the protection of the deserving subject through the exercise of a wise discretion in the application of the Laws. Will it be denied that ours is a case of grievous hardship and entitled to the favorable attention of your Board? ⁷

An Act modifying the law came into operation soon after, but it was reserved for Mr. Gladstone to repeal the Malt Tax.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 19th June, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I received all your letters, and thank you again and again.

I have laid Rooney's ⁸ petition before Mr. Littleton with the strongest recommendation I could give it. I am in great hopes of success, but I would not raise the worthy man's expectations for fear of a disappointment. I shall know to-morrow or the day after. If we get relief from Mr. Littleton, well and good; if not, I will bring the matter before the house and the public. I also attack Spring Rice daily on Croker & Codd's business. I am promised a *very speedy* answer.

With respect to politics, we are not much advanced since I wrote last. The Tories shrank from their threatened

⁷ The law thus open to abuse was flagrantly violated every day. A talk with some old malt factors has elicited curious facts worthy of record. Maltsters said that if they did not smuggle they were fined, because the law allowed them to keep only a certain amount of malt. A Drogheda maltster used to send to the brewery smuggled grain: it was despatched on a cart which bore no address; the horse was intelligent, and knew how to reach his goal without the aid of a driver. If it arrived safely, well and good; if seized, there was no evidence to prove ownership. A Dublin maltster,

named C——l, regularly fee'd the gauger for connivance. At last this gauger was promoted to be supervisor, and said to the smuggling maltster: 'From the position I now occupy it is impossible to overlook this breach of the law, and it must be reported.' The maltster opened his note-book and read aloud, under day and date, 'mems' of former 'douceurs' to the same man, adding that two could play at the game of 'reporting.' He continued to smuggle and heard no more of it.

⁸ Alderman James Rooney, an extensive grocer and spirit merchant, Townsend Street, Dublin.

defeat of Lord Brougham on Monday.⁹ I did think that shrinking was from mere terror of the consequences. I am led from circumstances to believe it rather arose from a delicacy towards the King, who yesterday dined with the Duke of Wellington. Since I wrote the last page I saw a high Tory (who told me what might be a *hint* that I had nothing to fear from the change). He also says that the Tories will certainly go to war. Everything is really in the state preceding a crisis in this country, and this just the moment when Lavelle,¹ who has always availed himself of any turn up to assail me, and O'Higgins,² who owes me a grudge since the affair of Reynolds's letter, to insinuate I know not what against me. Heaven help them! if any one anti-Unionist save myself could get what I could—I tell you I could get to-morrow or even this day for forsaking or injuring *the Repeal*—I have the impudence to think he *would* swallow the bait. No matter. Tell Barrett that I do not publish another letter in compliment to him. I await his permission before I even vindicate myself. I owe him certainly this deference. But to resume. We will probably have elections within six weeks, perhaps within a month. I think I may say that the Tories will make the experiment. What a crisis! One day they despair, the next they are going to battle. If the elections come on, are we quite sure of our ground? Alas! how little do men in Dublin know

⁹ On Monday, June 17, Lord Chancellor Brougham, in an able speech, moved that the House go into Committee on the Law Courts Bill. Lord Lyndhurst powerfully replied, and denounced it 'in the name of the legal profession, from the highest to the lowest.' Brougham replied, and the gallery was cleared for a division, but none took place.

¹ Mr. Patrick Lavelle was the then proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*. This paper powerfully enforced what it pronounced to be the imperative need of an immediate discussion in Parliament of the question of Repeal. O'Connell deprecated this course; but Mr. Lavelle,

in reply, urged that if the 'Liberator' raised in 1832 the standard of Repeal because of a defect in the Reform Act, there was ten times more reason now, when a Coercion Bill had passed. Barrett's paper, the *Pilot*, an organ of O'Connell's policy, denounced immediate discussion as injurious to the national cause, and called it a desperate experiment. O'Connell, in his letter of June 7, praises the conduct of Lavelle, against whom, in the present letter, he expresses himself strongly.

² Patrick O'Higgins was later known as 'the Irish Chartist.'

of the precarious state of public affairs. I am deprived even of my power of warning. But no matter. A great and merciful God has hitherto guided every event for the good of Ireland for many of the latter years, and my mistaken errors and political follies have frequently had more beneficial results for Ireland than any acts of my poor wisdom. I have got credit for the result when, in fact, I should have been blamed for the rashness and precipitancy of my sudden and ill-considered resolves, and an opinion has grown up of my political sagacity which I did not deserve. On the other hand, I have been sometimes attacked without adequate cause. We are, however, now at the most portentous crisis of our affairs, and I perceive that circumstances are just now running away with my political influence. Why, if men thought me really honest, would they not admit that I am in a position to see more of the game than those who, residing in Dublin, can not know one half of the circumstances on which political conduct ought to hinge? We are arriving at a crisis. God's holy will be done in everything.—Believe me always,

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: Monday, June 20, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The house is *up*. None of the Ministers attended for more than a few moments. Many reports afloat but nothing certain. The ardent friends of the Whigs now begin to think that as the grand struggle is delayed it never will take place. I am not of that opinion. It seems as if, on the contrary, everything was preparing for the fight. In fact, we are in a species of interregnum. Nothing is stable or fixed. What a time to think of bringing on the Repeal question without petitions in its favour! I am, however, tired with this subject, and will only add that, if I can get the management of the question I will undertake to have a million of petitioners before next Session. The King was facetious and foolish at the Duke

of Wellington's on Tuesday. His going there at all was proof that he acts under other advisers than his Ministers. One result of the present agitation is certain—either the Whigs go out, and that will be an actual good; or, if the Whigs stay in, Toryism can never again raise its head, which also will be an actual good.

I am much afraid that I cannot get any relief for poor Rooney. His is a case of gross oppression, but the name of Anglesey mixes with it, and the Government must at all hazards protect him. I will bring his case fully before the public. It shall not be my fault if he does not obtain redress.

I will follow the county plan you suggest. I may be embarrassed by the interference with my, at least, *honest* views. What frets me is that men in Dublin equally honest with myself will not recollect that I am equally honest with them, and that I have a much better opportunity of knowing how the land lies, and what are the circumstances which could render any discussion available for any useful purpose whatsoever. My speech on the Poor Laws, the most efficient all to nothing which I made since I got a seat in Parliament, was burked. I intend to obviate this on *my* discussion of the Repeal by getting the *True Sun* a set of reporters for that debate. I expect to have it last several nights.—Believe me to be,

Very faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 21st June, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—No further news of the approaching collision. The Queen has been, it is said, very active in her exertions to procure a new Ministry. But my own opinion is that the Tories are frightened. I do not think they will dare to shew fight, although some of their partisans are of a different opinion. Reports contradictory of each other continue to be created. No *fact* can be relied on save

this obvious one, that the suspense still continues. We are still in a state resembling an interregnum. The Ministry are working from hand to mouth.

I will have no opposition from Government against bringing in my bill to regulate the Corporations. I intend to divide the City into Eight Wards, to give each Ward the election of three Aldermen, and of a fourth in rotation to each. Each ward to elect eight Common Council men, and to remodel the guilds, giving each one Common Council man, four to a real guild of merchants. I will leave almost all the rest as it stands, because the machine in itself is good, provided it were well and honestly worked. The £10 householders will be the 'freemen' or electors in the wards, save that every tradesman will be an elector in his own guild, provided an apprenticeship anywhere.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

On June 20, 1833, Conway, the Dublin journalist, sarcastically announces that 'the eyes of all Europe had been for the last three days fixed upon St. Audeon's parish. It was bruited about that the public functionaries of that patriotic spot were to assemble for the purpose of passing *virtually* a vote of censure on the Liberator. But certain parties to whom he had given love-powders were on the alert. The belligerents met. Tom Reynolds was at his post, spoke a good speech against the Union, and concluded by seconding the (virtual) vote of censure.' An amendment was moved, and, amid a scene of great excitement, lost.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 22d June, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am sorry to find that 18 members of St. Audeon's parish should have given my enemies such a triumph over me. Why, how is it possible that you should not in all that parish have been able to procure fifteen more friends of mine to turn the scale? Well, well, well, how idle it is for every man to expect to be treated with fairness! To insinuate that I interpose a delay to carrying the Repeal! I am sincerely sorry indeed

to see that my friend Thomas O'Connor³ should be thus arrayed in the adverse ranks. I thought he knew me better than to believe that anything but the impossibility of doing good and the certainty of doing harm would have induced me to postpone a discussion. It does, I confess, mortify me, especially after your representations on the subject.

I succeeded in a most important amendment of the Church Temporalities Bill last night. The newspapers do not do me justice, but the delegates from the Assize will, I believe, do so. They felt that my exertions, and the distinctness with which I put the merits of the question, carried it; but whilst I am thus praising myself others are censuring me upon a point on which I am perfectly right. 'These *be our* rewards.'

The Government have truckled to the Tories. I suppose it is agreed that there shall be no collision this Session. One does not know what to think or how to judge. The parties are manifestly afraid of each other, and Lord Grey in particular fears to confide to popular support. In the meantime an universal uncertainty prevails. No man can tell who will be Minister this day week. I gave Stanley and the Ministry a *cruel crushing* last night. There was no rally against me at all, and even those who voted for the Ministry admit that no men ever deserved better to be abused. In the meantime the Session appears actually interminable. We have three or four days more on the Church Bill, then the Anti-Slavery Bill, Indian Bill, Bank Bill, &c. &c. I repeat this thing to you because I feel dissatisfied and disgusted with the triumph that has been had over me by Reynolds⁴ and O'Higgins⁵ and beings of that description.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

³ A young barrister.

⁴ Tom Reynolds, afterwards City Marshal.

⁵ Patrick O'Higgins, the Irish Chartist.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 26th June, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Feargus O'Connor⁶ has had his brains blown out by the trash in the *Freeman's Journal*, and he has, without condescending to consult me, fixed his Union debate for the 16th of the next month. He will do great mischief, and the Repealers will, I trust, shew Mr. Lavelle that he has speculated badly in setting on this uncalculating and coarse-minded fellow to do mischief. At present my family are determined that I should neither speak nor vote. My wife—who in almost all my political resolves has been, I believe, uniformly right—is strongly against my taking any part. I myself think I should merely stand by and reply to some late speaker. It is cruel to have my plan deranged by this interloper. His debate can do nothing but mischief.⁷

My fifth letter will appear in the *True Sun* of Monday. I will send to Mr. Dwyer a letter on this subject. I have written a great part of it, but could not finish without abandoning my Committee duty, which is not a little severe.

This Session will last so long that I do not despair of getting my Corporation bill through the house.

The Ship Canal⁸ I thought a bubble, but we have had documents laid before us this day from which I conjecture that it will be successful, and eminently useful to the health as well as the commercial prosperity of Dublin.

⁶ Feargus O'Connor, M.P. for Cork, son of Roger O'Connor (nephew of Lord Longueville), whose name is notorious in connection with the robbery of the Galway mail coach, an enterprise in which he is said to have taken part. (See *Ireland before the Union*. Dublin: Duffy. *Vide* also letter of February 11, 1839, and note, *infra*.)

⁷ O'Connell's presentiment was verified. The premature discussion of 'Repeal' gave a check to the agitation, from which, as will be

seen, it did not recover for nine years.

⁸ Papers relating to a projected ship canal between Dublin and Galway appear in Lord Cloncurry's *Recollections*, pp. 288-292. But doubtless the scheme referred to above was a ship canal from Kingstown Harbour to Ringsend Docks, Dublin, and unfolded in a pamphlet published in 1834. The idea seems absurd; but the intention was to enable vessels drawing sixteen feet to reach Dublin at any time of tide.

No further movement amongst the Ministry, but they cannot stand. I believe some of the Government are very angry with the 'honest old daggerman.'⁹ I believe he has written a line or two too many of abuse. More of this hereafter; but to me the creature seems to have gone mad with rancour.

I am, yours most truly,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 5th July, 33.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Go to Jerry McCarthy¹ from me. Shew him *this part* of my letter, and get him at once to make the arrangement you propose. He will comply with my request which I thus make.

You have heard that it has become the unanimous opinion of all but Feargus O'Connor that we should not attempt to discuss the Repeal this Session. If that discussion had come on I would, of course, have given it all the aid in my power. But I could not have said *this* in public, because the silly advocates for an immediate discussion would at once have called it a change of opinion—an acquiescence on my part in the propriety of their views—and would thus have turned my determination to do my duty

⁹ This alludes to Frederick William Conway, the able editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, and subsequently proprietor of the *Evening Post*, long the professed organ of Catholicism and Nationality. Brennan, 'the Wrestling Doctor,' was wont to lampoon him monthly in some lines headed, 'Con the Daggerman's Diary':—

Rose at six, and cleaned my shoes,
Miss Walstein's chariot did abuse,
Wrote two hours against the town,
Five men's honest fame run down.
Dressed in black, and breeches
satin,
In the *Freeman* slandered Grattan.
&c. &c.

Conway's paper, the *Post*, poured

a steady broadside on O'Connell at this time, and it is an open secret that Conway was subsidised by the State.

Why some of the Government were ill-pleased with the injudicious zeal of Conway in their support arose from his abuse of Boyton, the foe of Popery, but who at heart was a patriot. 'Dr. Boyton,' writes Conway, 'is the most melodious of the sweet singers on the banks of the Liffey, and his music occupies seven columns as recited through his barrel organ, the *Mail*.'

¹ Jerry McCarthy had loyally followed O'Connell throughout the earlier struggles of Catholic Emancipation, and was present at the duel with D'Esterre. (See p. 30, *ante*.)

under the most unfavourable circumstances into an approval of those who produced those very circumstances.

I will now begin in earnest to prepare myself for the contest. All my fame, alas, as an orator and statesman depends on *this* exertion.

I will follow your county and parochial plan. I will begin with the bleak North.

Wait a few days before you begin *your circuit*. Let the *discussion* question be at rest first.

The Commission to inquire into Corporate Abuses comes out immediately. Perrin and six Catholic barristers on the one hand, and six liberal Protestants on the other, will make a searching inquiry into corporate funds, charities, &c. &c. In fact, there is a determination to probe everything to the bottom.

I am so engaged between the Ship Canal and the Carrickfergus Committee that I wish to have the *ubiquity* of Sir Boyle Roche's bird—to be in *two* places at once.

Mr. Spring Rice, who has, as usual, behaved badly to us all on Croker & Codd's business, has promised to let me see the Report made on this case. I will write to them so soon as I can get the perusal of that document.²

I hope to leave this by the 10th of August. I will stay in Dublin only a few days. I want the country air exceedingly, although I have worked more and am in better health this than any former year.

The reporting in the newspapers is scandalous. I made a speech last night on the Liverpool question which was more cheered than any I believe I ever made. The report is in a few insignificant lines.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: July 16, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The Tories are gone for ever³—extinguished beyond and without hope. They have stuck

² See note to letter of June 13, 1833.

Autobiography that this was quite a general belief at the time.

³ Lord Campbell states in his

to the Church Bill, and the link that bound them together is broken for ever. The Session therefore is drawing to a close. The India Bill is going through the House slowly; it will take a week longer. Then we have the West Indies Bill, which will require near one month. Many of its provisions will be violently contested. In fact, although the Ministry have determined to rise by the 15th of August, I do not think they can possibly get through during that period half what remains to be done. Lord Harrowby sent in his adhesion to Government on the Church Bill yesterday, about three o'clock. This made them give up the call of the house. But I would not be deluded. If they get the support of four or five more Lords they will command the House of Peers, and then the direct battle will arise between them and the Radicals. The crisis is therefore over for the present, but for the present *only*.

July 19, 1833.

I believe every hour will bring us nearer to the creation of an anti-Orange feeling in Ireland. It is my conviction that this is the spirit in which Mr. Littleton intends to carry on his government. If—I repeat it over and over—we were once fairly rid of Blackburne, I should expect all to be better. I think I have got that scoundrel in a *cleft stick*, as it is called.

It is pretty clear that upon Perrin's motion we shall be rid of Baron Smith. I am flinging a stone at the rest of the lads of the Exchequer.⁴

No news.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁴ 'I moved for and obtained a return of the hours at which he sat and adjourned the Criminal Court in Armagh the preceding Assizes,

when he commenced some trials after midnight.'—*MS. mem. by Mr. Justice Perrin, in the possession of the Editor.*

CHAPTER X.

The Crisis over—The Orangemen—The *True Sun*—O'Connell's Quarrel with the Reporters—Dr. Baldwin—'Ninety M.P.s would bring about the Repeal'—Office again offered—'Littleton is a famous fellow'—Darrynane—Second Viceroyalty of Lord Wellesley—Corporate Reform—Agitation raised against the House of Lords—Direct Overtures by the Ministry to O'Connell—Refusal to be bought—'A Domestic Legislature the only solid good for Ireland'—Rintoul and the *Spectator*—Harassing pecuniary Engagements—Archbishop Murray—Tithes—Stirling, of *The Times*—The Press prosecuted again—Ireland ravaged by Cholera—'Who is the Traitor?'—Parliamentary Inquiry—Startling Words—Sheil exonerated—'Hurrah for Old Ireland!'—O'Connell moves for the Dismissal of Baron Smith.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : July 18th, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The crisis being over, there are no news. The Ministry are somewhat improved by the fright they have gotten, and the violent conduct of the Orangemen in the North of Ireland is another most useful feature in the 'case of Ireland' at the present moment. All we want is to get rid of Blackburne, and much practical good would be done. If Anglesey was not such an egregious ninny, we could easily get rid of that scoundrel. If anything could tempt me to join the Ministry, it would be to cashier Anglesey and to turn out Blackburne. But I remember the story of the horse and the man, and nobody shall ride me even to get rid of the enemies of Ireland, because, if I were once in harness, I could not be free to work for Ireland alone again.

Believe me, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It will be recollected that the *True Sun* fearlessly gave insertion to several letters written by O'Connell, which, on

republication by Barrett, became a ground for prosecution. The *True Sun* was an evening paper, which afterwards merged into the *Globe*.

To W. G. Ward.¹

14 Albemarle St. : 19 July, 1833.

Dear Sir,—In conformity with the accompanying resolutions, I take the liberty of earnestly requesting that you will be pleased to subscribe for one or more of the debentures which are about to be issued, with a view of placing the *True Sun* in a position of greater efficiency.

The importance of a truly independent daily paper, more especially at a period so critical as that which is approaching, comes more apparent day by day.

The services which the *True Sun*, with limited means, has already rendered to the productive classes of the community point out that journal as the one which all public men of liberal principles are called on to support.

The influence of the *True Sun* is amply proved by the accompanying testimonials from the columns of contemporary journals.

It may not be uninteresting to you to know that it is the intention of the proprietor of the *True Sun*, before the next session of Parliament, to establish also a morning paper, which, if it shall, more particularly in its parliamentary reports, be guided by the same spirit of impartiality which distinguishes the *True Sun*, cannot fail to confer great advantage on the country.

In the hope of procuring your co-operation in the great cause,

I remain, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Traces of wrath that the Parliamentary reporters should have 'burked' his best speeches bristle up in this corre-

¹ A Whig member who made a motion that the temporal possessions of the Irish Church ought to be reduced. His motion, though lost,

led to the resignation of Lord Stanley and the reconstruction of the Cabinet. (See Fagan's *O'Connell*, ii. 309.)

spondence. O'Connell renewed his attack on the offending pressmen. He complained to the House that they had either failed—from personal pique or prejudice—to report him at all, or had given only a grudging summary of what he said. Their ire was further exasperated by the fact that a former shorthand writer on *The Times*—Carew O'Dwyer—seconded O'Connell's motion that the printers of *The Times* and *Chronicle* should be brought to the Bar of the House. The entire body of reporters now made common cause together, and published in *The Times* a declaration pledging themselves never again to report O'Connell until he had apologised and atoned. Among the signatories were Charles, John, and Francis Ross,² the former afterwards editor of the 'Cornwallis Papers,' Michael Nugent, George Fisher, and others. O'Connell moved in the House that the printer of *The Times* be brought to the Bar, and casually mentioned that 'the reporters had boasted of having "put down" some of the greatest orators, that they had overcome a member of the present Administration, nay, that they had overcome the Lord Chancellor himself, and they added to the list the names of Tierney and Wyndham, the last of whom had conciliated them by a dinner, but they should not put him down, and that they would find.'³ The threat thrown out by the reporters—before which most orators would have blanched—was hurled in vain, and clearly they had mistaken their man. He determined that if his speeches were not to be reported, neither should those of any other member of Parliament. But, before applying the rod which he kept in pickle, he deemed it well to put the threat to the test. He delivered a long and important speech in Parliament, but when the public sought it next day no trace of it could be found.

So stringent were the rules of the House, that for a lengthened period no man ventured to take notes of a speech, and it is told of Dr. Johnson that when engaged, by a magazine, to supply Parliamentary reports, he had frequently to compose them when only the names of the speakers and the part they took had been communicated to

² Charles Ross was a near connection of Lord Elliot, Chief Secretary for Ireland under Peel, and afterwards Lord St. Germans, in the Administration of Lord Derby.

³ Disraeli, writing to his sister on

April 26, 1838, says that 'poor little Monckton Milnes' speech was completely smashed by the reporters.'—*Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence*, p. 105.

him. More recently it has been the experience of the present writer, that, having produced a pencil to note a passing thought, he was at once cautioned by an official of the House that such was 'strictly contrary to its Rules.' Even strangers innocent of blacklead were, and are, allowed to remain in the House only on sufferance; and any member wishing to expel them had merely to say, 'I think, sir, I see strangers in the gallery,' for the Speaker to order them at once to withdraw. No sooner had Manners Sutton taken the chair than these talismanic words fell sonorously from O'Connell. An immediate stampede was the result. Every part of the building was cleared of strangers, including the entire corps of reporters. He then explained the circumstances under which he had resorted to an old rule, and declared that he would persist until the suppression of his speeches ceased. The strange incident was soon bruited abroad, and great anxiety was evinced by the public to read next day an account of the scene. But to their dismay the papers appeared without a line on the subject. The 'barring out' went on for ten days, during which time the reporters regularly assembled outside the door of the gallery, not knowing the moment when they might be invited to resume their seats. Angry feelings at length subsided, and the reporters, in more genial mood, re-entered on their duties.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 26th July, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . It seems we are to have the crisis after all. Whilst I write the Cabinet Council is sitting. No person as yet knows what they will do. I will not close this letter until the last moment, so that you shall know all that is *knowable*.

I am in the midst of my battle with the reporters. I hope they *shall not* put me down. I am resolved to give battle to the uttermost. If *The Times* does not report me, it shall not report anybody else—*that is flat*. Five or six successful speeches of mine have already been *burked*, and, above all, my exertions on the anti-Slavery side have been concealed.

The thing is settled for the present: the Ministry do not resign. Lord Grey has just threatened to do so, and he said that in case any other *verbal* alteration was made in the bill, he would certainly throw it up. Thus the matter stands for the present.

(Twenty minutes after six.)

I have succeeded against the Press—*The Times*.

I have got an order upon the printer and one proprietor of *The Times* to attend at the Bar on Monday. The truth is that I *would* not be put down.

My relative, Dr. Baldwin,⁴ poor man, attacked me yesterday. Mad O'Reilly⁵ of Dundalk attacked me this evening, but was put down by the Speaker, who has conducted himself exceedingly well on this occasion. I told you the scoundrels should not put me down. I believe I am the only man in either House of Parliament who would dare to beard so powerful a Press, which triumphed over Spring Rice—that *was easy*—over Windham and over Tierney. But I attacked that Press directly, and never beat about the bush. I am foolishly proud of that victory.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 5th August, 1833.

My dear Friend,—I am, you perceive, after another hard fought field. I have conquered the tyranny of the Press. I am the only person to whom the scoundrel Reporters ever struck. They have done it, to be sure, in congenial Billingsgate, but the thing is done.

I will make you smile at the lures which have been thrown out to me to accept office, but I need not tell you I never will whilst Ireland is without a Parliament of her

⁴ The Hon. John Boyle, son of Lord Cork, had represented the city of Cork, but in 1832 was beaten by Herbert Baldwin, M.D., a kinsman of O'Connell's.

⁵ William O'Reilly had been re-

turned for the borough of Dundalk in 1832, but O'Connell denounced him for apathy in resisting the Coercion Bill, and he was never re-elected.

own. It is said by many *that* will never be. Do not believe them. I am tolerably experienced in political struggles, and remember I tell you that *the Repeal* is making great way in both countries. I cannot be deceived and would not deceive you. The English people are beginning to wish it in order to get rid of *the deluge* of Irish paupers, and Irish workmen in manufactures and agriculture. In Ireland nothing prevents its success but the miserable Orange feud. The conduct of the Orangemen on the 12th of July does indeed exhibit a miserable attachment to party virulence. But in proportion as the Government acts against them will their party zeal cool, and every addition to the *liberality* of the Government is another death-blow to the *over-loyal* workings of Orangeism. The Corporation inquiry and the certainty of corporate reform are also means of dissipating Orange power and extinguishing the hopes of faction. When they fully understand their position and see that they have no interest adverse to the rest of the country, we will *all* be Repealers. Believe me that time approaches, and if Ireland returned even ninety Repealers, there would be no difficulty in bringing about the Repeal. I hope to be in Dublin within the next fortnight. Let me hear from you in the mean time.—Believe me always,

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Most confidential.)

London: 8th August, 1833.

My dear Barrett,—I write this letter as a really private letter, but I wish you and my friends should know my movements and my motives. I go off with my family to-morrow morning early. I could not bear to remain here after them, neither have I *anything to do*. The Grand Jury Bill is gone through this day. It is as little mischievous and as positively useful as we could make it. The Special Jury Bill is to be amended on Perrin's suggestion and mine. *It will be useful*, but of this not one word is to be said, and of course nothing published until *after the thing*

is done. The Change of Venue Bill is to be allowed to drop unnoticed, so that everything is done. You perceive how confidential this letter is. Littleton is a famous fellow. You must not praise him in the *Pilot*—at least, for the present. Lord Anglesey reads the *Pilot*, attributes to me everything in it, and he is just the man to counteract the good intentions of Littleton if he be *put forward* at all. Mark this particularly—ALL WILL BE WELL. The House will drawl on another week. Peel is gone off, and so are nine-tenths of the independent members. There remain only a few of the latter and a Ministerial majority. I have been now near seven months attending my parliamentary duty without missing one single day. I want some repose, but the moment I arrive in Dublin I will begin again. We have the Ship Canal and Corporate Abuses to meet about. I have already my sinews arranged to *agitate*. Recollect that we can get no good out of Anglesey but by his appearing to be the person to do it. Littleton appears to me to have great tact.

I have written a great part of my first *Chapter* on Repeal. I will publish my Repeal letters through the *True Sun*.

I hope for better times for Ireland. The Corporation abuses commission will sit on the 25th of August. I want to be in Dublin to arrange the evidence on that subject.—In haste,

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To William Fagan, Cork.*⁶

Darrynane Abbey : September 3rd, 1833.

My dear Fagan,—I beg leave respectfully to acknowledge the invitation to a public dinner which a meeting of the Citizens of Cork have done me the honor to transmit to me through you, their Chairman.

I accept it as a proof that the patriotic and independent citizens of Cork sympathise with me in the exertions that

⁶ Mr. Fagan was a kinsman of O'Connell's, and afterwards represented Cork in Parliament.

I have humbly but zealously made, not only to advance the best interests of our native land, but also to protect her from the wanton and unnatural injury and debasement of being deprived of the first and greatest of all constitutional rights, at the atrocious caprice of the mock reformers, ministerial and legislative.

Your invitation proves that you concur with me in the just and inextinguishable indignation that every lover of liberty and Ireland, must feel at this, the greatest and, I trust, the last outrage that has been perpetrated upon unhappy Ireland by the insolence of British power, combined with British falsehood and folly. The shouts of barbaric domination with which the Coercion Bill was cheered still ring in my ears and enliven my determination to render a repetition of such a scene impossible—by that which alone can secure the liberty of Irishmen and the constitutional connexion of the two countries—the Restoration of our Domestic Legislature!

I accept, therefore, your invitation, containing, as it does, the evidence of your hearty concurrence with me in the deep conviction that Ireland can never expect safety for her liberties, encouragement for her commerce, the stimulant and universal advantage of a domestic market and domestic consumption for her agriculture and manufactures; and greater than all, freedom from paltry and vile insult, without a peaceable, a constitutional, but a complete Repeal of the Union.

But, although I must accept your invitation, as I would obey an honored command, yet I trust you will allow me to name a distant day for that purpose. After nearly seven months of the most close and unremitting labour I want the calm and quiet of my loved native hills—the bracing air, purified as it comes over ‘the world of waters,’ the cheerful exercise, the majestic scenery of these awful mountains whose wildest and most romantic glens are awakened by the enlivening cry of my merry beagles; whose deep notes, multiplied one million times by the echoes, speak to my senses as if it were the voice of magic powers

commingling as it does with the eternal roar of the mighty Atlantic, that breaks and foams with impotent rage at the foot of our stupendous cliffs. Oh! these are scenes to revive all the forces of natural strength—to give new energy to the human mind, to raise the thoughts above the grovelling strife of individual interests—to elevate the sense of family affection into the purest, the most refined, and the most constant love of country, and even to exalt the soul to the contemplation of the wisdom and mercy of the all-seeing and good God, who has been pleased to afflict Ireland with centuries of misrule and misery, but seems now to have in store for her a coming harvest of generous retribution.

Permit me to postpone for some—shall I say considerable?—time the day on which I am to meet my friends, and the friends of Ireland, in Cork. Do not tear me from this loved spot until I have enjoyed some of its renovating effects. If you think I deserve the sweets of this loved retreat, give me time to taste them more at leisure after my fatigues and vexations, and allow me to mention a distant day for that on which I am to meet you at the festive board, consecrated, in my humble name, to the welfare of Ireland.

Believe me, it is with regret I seek this postponement. I prize the patriotism of the Citizens of Cork as of the highest importance. There is this in your patriotism that makes it of inestimable value—namely, that it is not confined to one sect or party. You have not only patriotic Catholics, as elsewhere, but you have—what is wanted, alas! in too many places—patriotic Protestants of several religious denominations, who rival the best friends of Ireland in the energy, the intelligence, and the pure sincerity of their love of country. . . .

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 6th Sepr. 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I sometimes fear me that you are not well, as I do not hear from you. You were so

punctual a correspondent that your silence now creates the apprehension of an unpleasant cause. Relieve my mind from this fear.

I want to get the Edinburgh magazines—*Tait's* and *Johnson's*—the *New Monthly*, the *Metropolitan*, and the *Irish Magazine*—all for September. I want one of the August magazines. It is that which contains an account of various existing Constitutions with two Chambers.

You promised to send me Leland's *Ireland* and Carey's *Vindiciæ*. Pray make a parcel of the entire. I beg expedition.

Wishing you, my excellent friend, health and happiness, &c.,

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The Marquis Wellesley succeeded Lord Anglesey as Viceroy on September 26, 1833. Although O'Connell in the following letter calls him a 'mere driveller,' it is fair to state that Lord Macaulay has characterised at least his Indian policy as 'eminently able, energetic, and successful.' John Stuart Mill, on the other hand, says that in India Lord Wellesley had proved 'a very expensive and ambitious ruler,' and that 'the greater part of his administration had been a scene of war and conquest—a policy hostile to British interests and cruel to the people.' Articles of impeachment were certainly moved against him, though without result. At home his career was more liberal. In 1812 he espoused the Catholic claims, and it will be remembered that his arrival in Ireland as Viceroy had been the signal for an organised series of insults with which Orange zealots ceased not to pursue him.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 13th Sept. 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I can assert positively that a distinct declaration was made by Lord Althorp that the duty paid on consumed goods should be refunded. I can prove that declaration in any court of justice. Of course there could be no charge on individuals for duty not paid.

It was a declaration of refunding that I spoke of then lightly in reply. I think I may pledge myself unequivocally to succeed so far, but then I will not stir one step until the claims for compensation—for full compensation—are disposed of. It would be treating me badly to have any movement for the refunding the duty made until the other matters are definitely disposed of—so far as the Government is concerned. It would be treating the principal sufferers most outrageously ill to interfere with the refunding claim before the claim for full compensation was definitely disposed of. Let this, I implore of you, be distinctly understood, and in particular that my aid will be confined to those persons who *paid* duty and will *wait* until the other and greater question is disposed of.

Excuse me as well as you can to Ffrench. I will write to him to-morrow. I should be sorry the £500 bill was protested, but I see I cannot help it. Pay the interest part of it, if it be *renewable*. But certainly it will afflict me much to have it protested. . . .

I rejoice at the coming of Lord Wellesley, who is a mere driveller, but who is another name for his son-in-law, Mr. Littleton.⁷ I rejoice most heartily in the expulsion of that scoundrel Anglesey. His mortified vanity at being unpopular and totally failing to manage Ireland made him ferocious and spiteful. He did all the mischief he positively could, and he goes away against his will because his career was not any longer to be indulged in. Why does Staunton praise him? Never did any man less deserve praise. It is quite true that in 1828 he was in a right position, and acted to a certain extent well, but not so well as he got credit for. But his present administration has been full of the grossest faults and indeed crimes. He armed the Yeomanry; he prosecuted over and over again; he allowed juries to be packed; he let loose the police and military upon Tithe Campaigns; he fostered the vilest of Catholic traitors and Orange delinquents, especially at the Bar. Fie upon him for a Saxon oppressor! But his day is gone by, I think, for ever.

⁷ The Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Lord Wellesley will be, of course, every day more odious to the survivors of the Ascendancy Party. His appointment shows Littleton's power and his determination. You now can see that the Attorney-Generalship and the Chancellorship in prospective are at my command. This is, of course, between ourselves; but Ireland is my first and ought to be my only object. It looks like affectation to say so, but it is, after all, proved by my not looking for office. I am determined not to accept any situation, but surely I need not tell you so! I look on the Repeal not only as necessary, absolutely necessary, but as inevitable. He will have a great commingling of Protestants. I see them *a-coming*. The Corporation reform is of more vital importance to allow them to be—nay, to make them Reformers, than any other measure possibly could be. Cultivate for me Sheehan and the *Mail* party; assure them, as you can do, that I will observe the most sacred good faith with them *as Repealers*. Tell Sheehan two things. *First*: As relates to himself and his personal friends, his party would not do more for him than mine *shall and will*. There is room for all us Irish when we shut out intruders. *Secondly*: That I am ready to do everything the most suspicious of his party could desire to obviate the possibility of a Catholic ascendancy. Indeed I am convinced such an ascendancy is impossible; but Sheehan's party may think otherwise, and they are entitled to be fully satisfied. I am ready to commit myself in writing to the terms, and not to require any of their party to commit himself personally. But as my actions direct themselves with the tendency to secure perfect religious equality, I am ready to commit myself *in writing or in print* on the subject as may be desired. All I require of the Protestant party is to join for the Repeal as honest Irishmen, sharing to the fullest extent its honours, emoluments, and advantages, both individually and generally.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : Sepr. 14th, 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—You cannot send me down too much Irish history. But you are mistaken as to one magazine. That which I want is a London magazine—I believe the *Monthly*. I want it for its leading article on *Constitutions having Two Chambers of Legislators*. Pray let me have it.⁸

It is too late now to address the several Corporations. If they were not stimulated by my Dublin Corporation speech the fault is entirely their own, and I cannot help them.

If there be any statistical surveys of Antrim, Armagh, Tyrone, or other Northern County, send them to me. My plan is this. I am writing an *exposé* of my conduct in Parliament, and the good we have done for the country. This will be ready for sending to the *Pilot* in two or three days. I will then begin my country letters, and publish two or three a week. I will include Tithes with the *Repeal*. Why do you not tell me when Barrett leaves Dublin? What an exquisite article he has published on that thorough scoundrel Anglesey!

Staunton⁹ certainly deserves the greatest credit for his financial discoveries. His last is a 'thumper;' but he should not have permitted his foolish good nature to overflow with any kindness for the harsh, virulent, proud, good-

⁸ O'Connell seems to have had in view the tour which he afterwards made through England, with the object of agitating against the House of Lords. Two long letters on the subject were addressed to the *Leeds Times*.

⁹ The editor of the *Register*, already referred to, afterwards a Government officer of Finance in Dublin. Staunton, though recognised as a master of figures, proved himself, in all personal matters, a bad calculator. Ten years later he underwent some reverses, and agreed to accept

from the *Freeman's Journal* an annuity of £300 on condition that his paper, the *Morning Register*, should cease. Knowing him to be short of money, Dr. Gray called on him one day, and bought the annuity for four years' purchase. Staunton survived a quarter of a century after making this bad bargain. Having denounced the Young Ireland movement, he was appointed by Lord Clarendon Collector-General of Rates; but the public accounts fell into confusion during his *régime*.

natured, good-for-nothing, palavering — Anglesey. His name is Scoundrel, and he ought not to be forgiven one letter of it.

The porter has arrived. It is greatly liked by the drinkers of malt, of which I am not one. I tried it yesterday, and thought it strong and palatable, but it seemed to me as if it had a sourishness of taste. I am, however, no judge.¹

Believe me to be, &c.,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

People often complained that O'Connell was too fond of applying the word 'scoundrel' to his enemies. But he was at least impartial in distributing the epithet. Writing to FitzPatrick at this time he says:—

I cannot tell you how annoyed I feel that a bill of mine for £205 will be due on Monday. I am the most stupid scoundrel living on this subject. I can only say you shall have full provision within the week.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

Darrynane Abbey: 17th Sept. 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The reports of my taking office are now only so much less idle than formerly by this circumstance, that the Ministry have made, and are making, more direct offers to me. They are also putting out of the way all those with whom I would not and could not act. But all this does not make me one whit the less immovable. If I went into office I should be *their servant*—that is, their slave. By staying out of office I am, to a considerable extent, their master. Stanley was on this account removed from Ireland. Lord Anglesey now is obliged reluctantly to retire. Blackburne will be put *on the shelf*. But all these relate to men; what I want are measures. In the three hours' dialogue I had with Lord Anglesey, when he was first appointed by the Whigs, my constant reply to every

¹ See note on O'Connell's Brewery, p. 421.

approach to my own interests was, first, 'What will you do for Ireland?' The answer was, 'Everything.' Now 'everything' means nothing; and indeed the Administration since has proved it. Without taking office I will be able to get, 1st, a number of bad magistrates removed; 2nd, the Yeomanry disarmed; 3rd, the tythes abolished; 4th, the establishment of the Protestant Church reduced in every parish the overwhelming majority of whom are Catholics or Dissenters; 5th, to have offices filled with Liberals to the exclusion of Orangeists. These are great things, and instead of soliciting some of them, as I *should* do were I in office, I will command them when out of office. Add to these the redress of Corporate abuses, and you will see that prospects advance for the Irish people, and I must keep out of office to be disengaged to forward the movement, instead of being a clog on the wheel, which I should necessarily be if in office. Then lastly, but first in order of magnitude, there is the Repeal of the Union. We never can thrive without the Repeal. Nothing prevents the irresistible force of the cry for Repeal but the remaining strength and hopes of several of the Ascendancy Party. All the measures I speak of, and especially the Corporate Reform, are brain blows to that faction. 'Wait a while,' and you must see the strongest Repealers in that party. They will be bitter; we are merely determined. It is impossible not to see with half an eye these two things: first, that the Orange party are necessarily disengaging from day to day from the Government; and, secondly, that when once they lose power, as they are daily losing it, they have only to lose the hope also of restoration in order to make them have no other inducement to action save the good of Ireland, unless it be animosity to the Ministry, which will in that case give increased energy to their exertions. Believe me that if God is pleased to spare my life but a few, very very few years longer (perhaps *months would* do, and I believe *months will* do), I will certainly have multitudes of Protestants of my party for the Repeal.

But may not the Repeal be dispensed with if we get

beneficial measures without it? This is a serious question, and one upon which good men may well differ; but it is my duty to make up my mind upon it, and I have made up my mind accordingly—that there can be no safety for, no permanent prosperity in Ireland without a repeal of the Union. This is my firm, my unalterable conviction—a conviction which it requires only a knowledge of the British parliament, and indeed of human nature, to render irresistible. We must have the Irish rents spent in Ireland. We must have no foreign landlords. Let those who will not live in Ireland sell their Irish estates. The rents of Ireland *must* be spent in Ireland! Irish affairs must be managed by Irishmen; and, indeed, they *certainly* will be so managed so soon as hope becomes extinct in the Orange leaders. Yes, the Ministry are, as the *Mail* truly says, doing my work infinitely more decidedly and efficaciously than I could myself. Ireland will be a nation again.

I now imagine you will see how impossible it is I should accept office. I will do better; I will watch the officers.

Ever yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.²

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 20th Sepr. 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Pay Scully a small account I owe him, of about four pounds. I believe all my money dealings are now wound up until November. . . . I send by this post a long rambling letter for publication to Barrett. It is the first of those letters which shall appear at least twice a week whilst I am out of Dublin. I smile at the alacrity with which so many are voting me into office, and crowing over the abandonment of the Repeal. This letter will, I think, convince them that I will not take office,

² Part of this letter has been published by O'Keeffe in the *Life of O'Connell*, ii. 561; but he does not know to whom it is addressed. The biographer adds: 'An Irish artist will, we trust, some day or other,

give to his countrymen a picture of this interview between the cozening and deceptive lord, who would do 'everything for Ireland, and the virtuous commoner who would accept nothing for himself.'

and that I will not abandon the Repeal. There is a lull in politics just now, but the land breeze will soon spring up, and we shall have a stiff gale before we are much older. I pause to obtain Protestant aid. That is now my leading object. I want the Government to throw the Protestants into the ranks of the Repealers, and my ardent fancy makes my reason the more easily convinced of a truth which nobody can rationally doubt, that the Government are doing nothing for me '*mighty neatly*.'³

May God bless you, my good friend. Write to me when you conveniently can.

Always yours,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

*To Gerald Crean.*⁴

Derrynane Abbey : 11 Oct. 1833.

My dear Sir,—I would at once write to you and fix with the Committee for a day to hold the dinner for the benefit of the Josephian Charity, but that I cannot ascertain when I shall be in Dublin or how long I may remain there. The first display in Parliament on the Repeal question is one which, to do it justice, would require months of seclusion; and I should wish to remain here until I had made the far greater part of my preparations, because I am one of those whose opinions are daily more fixed that no solid or substantial good can be done for Ireland until we have a domestic Legislature in Dublin.

To Wm. Fagan, M.P.

Derrynane Abbey : 20th October, 1833.

My dear Fagan,—Are my friends in Cork still ready to honor me with a public dinner? If so, I could and would be with them on Monday, the 10th November—I should add, if that day appeared to them suitable. The truth, however,

³ 'Nate—mighty nate,' is a catch-phrase constantly used by one of the characters in Lady Morgan's *Florence MacCarthy*.

⁴ Gerald Crean was brother of Martin Crean, sometime secretary of the Repeal Association.

is, that matters of this kind, if once allowed to grow cool, are difficult to be warmed again into activity. I therefore consult you rather as my private and kind friend than as the Chairman. Let the matter drop if there be any indisposition to put it on its right legs again. If it shall go on, I hope to see the Members of the County on the occasion. Barry is a prime good voter, and unaffectedly right on all occasions. O'Connor⁵ may be sometimes a little self-willed, but he is calculated to be a useful man, and I have a great regard for him. I say nothing of the City Members; they, if they approve of my course of action, ought to be entertainers, not entertained.

You perceive I write to you in the most perfect confidence. My movements will be guided by your reply.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A second letter to Mr. Fagan, dated Oct. 26, 1833, discussed some Parliamentary proceedings now forgotten. 'I have had my two months' play days,' he writes, 'and I am as ready and willing as ever to agitate for Old Ireland. We must get every parish to petition for abolition of tithes total and unequivocal, and above all and before all, for Repeal.' 'Yes,' he adds, 'we will re-establish the Irish Parliament by the peaceable, legal, and constitutional combination of Irishmen, to which legislators yield, in order to obey a sentiment not to be resisted, because universal. Ireland will set another example to the nations of the world of the mode in which great political changes ought to be brought about; that is, without a crime or an offence, without sacrifice of property, and, above all, without one drop of blood.'

The dinner duly took place.

*To Robert Rintoul.*⁶

Darrynane Abbey: 30 Oct. '33.

. . . You justly say that the Government ought not to make me a judge; you intimate that I would make a bad judge.

⁵ Feargus O'Connor.

apostle of Philosophical Radicalism.
Born 1787, died 1858.

⁶ The original proprietor of the *Spectator*, and described as the

In this I am inclined to concur with you. I should be subject to two temptations: the one, of favouritism towards the partisans of my own opinions; the second, the equally vicious and more paltry affectation of impartiality in *leaning* in favor of 'the enemy,' and thereby doing injustice to my friends. This is, after all, the common practice of patriot lawyers. I never knew a prerogative lawyer who, when promoted to the Bench, did not adhere to his former party. I never knew a popular partisan at the bar who, upon the bench, did not favour the party heretofore opposed by him. Even if I escaped either vice—the partiality of party or the partiality of affected candour—yet in such a country as Ireland now is I could not, as a judge, get credit for virtues which I would feign flatter myself I possess; and justice would be tarnished by suspicions of my integrity if she escaped pollution from my crimes.

It follows, upon the whole, that there is nothing for me but to continue my practice of agitation; voting for, and promoting, to the extent of my feeble powers, every measure conducing to lessen the burdens, or increase the franchises, of the British people; but always recollecting that my first and last thought, act, and exertion belong to Ireland.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Mr. John O'Connell, in a note before me, refers to certain pecuniary arrangements which his father had contracted early in life by 'a too great readiness in going security and accepting bills for a person who left him in the lurch. These engagements hampered and harassed him during upwards of twenty years of his life, and, in fact, made that life often miserable.'

A great number of the letters addressed to his financial agent, Mr. FitzPatrick, refer to these harassing engagements. Such as have no public interest I omit, but sufficient allusions remain to let the reader see how his liabilities pressed.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 31st Oct. 1833.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I enclose you a cheque for £32. I have taken up the £236 bill.

I leave this to-morrow after Mass. I go the next day but one, Saturday, to Killarney; on Sunday evening, to Macroom; on Monday, to a public dinner at Cork; and getting out of the way to Clongowes on Sunday, the 10th, I intend, God willing, to reach Dublin by the 11th, to remain there until the House of Commons meets in February, and to proceed with all manner of due agitation. I am perhaps out of spirits, unjustly or without cause, but I feel a sensation of desertion of me when I ought not. This, however, is certain, that I never will desert the country—and less now than ever. I will write to you again from Killarney. Be assured that no man could be more grateful to another than I am to you. What alarms me principally is that, although I see some newspaper puffs, I do not see anywhere, save in Cork, the organisation which *could* promise success.

Barrett's ⁷ paragraphs about Walker and Sullivan ⁸ are, I see by the scoundrel *Freeman*, attributed to me. Well, I cannot help it, but they do most certainly contain my sentiments of both those gentlemen, and whatever be the result to myself, I cannot regret that those paragraphs have appeared. They are strictly true.

May God bless you, my good friend! Tell *all whom it may concern* that I intend to be in Dublin on the 11th.

Yours gratefully, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

I doubt whether my Parliamentary duties, to which I shall devote myself, will allow me to attend to law business. What are you doing in Dublin? I know that some

⁷ Richard Barrett, editor of the *Pilot*.

⁸ Strictures on Charles Arthur

Walker, M.P. for Wexford, and on Richard Sullivan, M.P. for Kilkenny.

of the clergy there are not over friendly, but this we must *not observe*.⁹

To Richard Barrett.

Athleague : 12th Nov. 1833.

My dear Barrett,—I beg to dissent from an assertion, or rather insinuation, of yours on my plan of agitation. You convey the idea of my desiring to postpone the petitions for the abolition of tithes to those for 'the Repeal.' If you really think so you are quite mistaken; my opinion is very different indeed.

I began, the moment I came back into Ireland, by calling for petitions for the total abolition of tithes. I repeat that call *now*. I ask for an Anti-Tithe petition meeting in every parish in Ireland not under the immediate operation of the Coercion Bill, and wherever that monstrous law prevails, I ask for a petition to be circulated for signatures from house to house. There never was a time when it was so necessary as it is at present to petition for the total and unqualified extinction of tithes.

I have heard it said that in military affairs it is infinitely more difficult to make good use of a victory than to gain one. I know it is so in political affairs, or rather that in political affairs the most critical and dangerous moment to the popular party is that which for that party ought to precede a complete and final triumph. It is at such a moment that the enemy is too much despised, and the popular force is overrated. We are disposed to rely on our *friends* and on half-converted enemies, and not upon the only safe resources—our own exertions.

We are arrived at this critical moment—the victory is all but won, we are on the point of complete success; if we do not now contrive to *desist* from exertion; nay, I should rather say, if we now redouble our exertions. It is absolutely necessary that the loud, the unequivocal, the unanimous voice of Ireland should be raised on this sub-

⁹ Archbishop Murray's sympathies were with the Whig Government, and his clergy took their tone from him.

ject. I therefore call upon every single parish instantly to prepare a petition for the extinction of tithes, not in name only but in reality.

It is time to begin; the parsons are up and stirring, they are again enforcing the odious tithes, they are beginning to distrain, to sue, to accumulate costs, and to sell. Since the world began there never was such political hypocrisy displayed as by the parsons and their advocates in the House of Commons. . . .

But you are quite right in stating that the great and leading object of my political life is the Repeal of the Union.

For the present I shall content myself by thus announcing that I require one million of petitioners to secure success. Let me have one million of male petitioners, affixing their signatures or their marks to the demand for the Repeal, and I have the certainty of success. But let the people of Ireland recollect that it is necessary to show the English nation how universal the desire is to place the connection of the two nations on a different legislative footing. Unless we do so we cannot expect to be favourably heard. It is therefore obvious that the great exertion for Repeal is to be directed to multiply petitions and signatures of this more speedily.

I am greatly pleased with the attacks of *The Times* upon me on this subject, and, above all, on the deplorable nonsense which the writers of that paper put forward as arguments against the Repeal. You are aware that we must shew up by real names and characters the persons who write for that paper. At the first half leisure moment I will give you sketches of the two principal writers—the one, a thin-skinned adventurer of the name of Barnes; the other, with something of a tougher hide, of the name of Stirling. We will trace him through his different changes—now an Irish barrister, then a Captain of Militia, then a parson, and lastly the Great Unknown of *The Times*, who is saluted with awe by the *ci-devant* Whigs and now beplacéd Tories of ‘Brooks’s Club.’ Mr. Stirling is not

known at *The Times* as the stage falsehood of the scene. Nor do I see why old Walter himself should escape. He uses an engine to assail others as from a masked battery. We will assail him under our own names, and besides more ancient stories, we will be able to give some curious details of the virtues by which he *purchased* the blushing honors of the Berkshire representation. Hurrah for the literary war! . . .

Believe me, &c.,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

London: Saturday [Nov. 1833].

My dear Barrett,—I have heard of all the stages of the intended prosecution against you.¹ The downfall of the present Ministry may prevent it, but at all events and on every contingency you can command, and you may rely on me. I will, of course, do *all* that is right, and if prosperity ever smiles distinctly on me you shall share it. I will also share your adversity. In short, command me to the fullest extent. Let me hear from you *if*—or I rather should say I fear, when the Bills are found. There is nothing whatsoever in the point of my concentrating the Volunteers.²

The Ministry must go out—the people will not bear the Tories. But the great and cheering prospect is from the state of dissatisfaction of the public mind. Our allies are amongst the English people, who will not *allow* the taxes to be paid. You cannot imagine how high my expectations are. They may be disappointed, but I do confidently believe they will not; at all events, I cannot express *in words* my gratitude to you, nor shall you ever find yourself disappointed with me. *You command me.*

Believe me always, &c.,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

¹ For publishing a letter of O'Connell's alleged to be libellous.

² On the threatened suppression of the Society of Irish Volunteers

for Repeal of the Union, O'Connell claimed to be their concentrated essence. (See *ante*, p. 336 *et seq.*)

*To Sir Henry W. Jervis, Bart.*³

Merrion Square : 9th January, 1834.

Sir,—You ask who are to be understood as ‘THE PEOPLE, the source of legitimate power’?

I reply. All those not possessed of prerogative or privileged capacities. *Not* the King in his corporate capacity—*not* the peers in their privileged state—but all those who are neither King nor peers. In short, the Commons, for whose benefit the King *ought* to reign; and for whose benefit alone the privileges of the peers *ought* to exist.

Here I would close, but that I cannot allow you, unimproved, to exhibit in a letter to me so much of an uneven, and, I must add, an ignorant haughtiness of language towards the people and popular institutions. You presume to talk to me of the ‘dregs’ of the people. Who do you dare to call amongst the people by the abusive epithet of ‘dregs’? Not the rich and the titled, I warrant, but the laborious and the poor. Now, as to the poor and labouring classes, I will not allow you to claim any personal superiority over them. You thought fit to bestow your tediousness on me for a long half-hour, during which you condescended to exhibit to me your views on various local and general topics, and I can confidently assert that I have frequently received in five minutes, from one of the poor and labouring classes, more information, and more sound views of public policy, than I did from you in your entire half-hour.

Again, Sir, you presume to assail the spirit of democratic liberty—the only rational spirit of freedom—by calling a democracy ‘the worst, the most brutal, and senseless of tyrannies.’ How ignorant you must be of the first elements of political history, and how utterly blind to the scenes that are passing before your eyes!

What country in the world is it in which the national

³ Sir Henry Jervis, Bart., of the county of Wexford, was an officer of the Royal Navy, and addressed

O’Connell in the bluff style of an old sailor.

debt is on the verge of inevitable extinction; in which taxation is on the point of being reduced to the lowest possible quantity; 'in which peace reigns within its borders; in which abundance crowns the labours of the fields; in which commerce and domestic industry flourish and increase; in which individual happiness rewards the private virtue and enterprise of the citizens; and which, in fine, is as honoured abroad as it is prosperous at home'?

What state is thus respected by foreign powers, and thus happy in its internal relations? It is a democracy—a democracy without one single admixture of monarchical or aristocratical principle—America; and yet there you are, with two eyes in your head, appearing to have some 'speculation' in them, and you venture to call this democracy the worst, the most brutal, and senseless of all tyrannies!

Prejudice might close your eyes to the political state of America, but can you be so ignorant as not to know THAT Athens, with a territory not so large as some of our counties, has written her name in the annals of glory as foremost in prosperity, valour, arts, sciences, public and private virtue! Yet Athens was a democracy. THAT Rome during the four hundred years of her history, in which her democratic spirit predominated over her aristocracy, was as prosperous at home as she was triumphant abroad—THAT Venice, during a space of more than eight hundred years, rose from a fishing village to power and wealth, and glory and domestic prosperity, by means of her then pure democracy—indeed, into such strength and power, that it required near six hundred years of the withering hand of aristocratic selfishness to reduce her once again to village weakness and debility! Nay, know you not that proud England herself owes her superiority over the nations of Europe to that greater portion of the spirit of democracy which mingled with her institutions?

I have done with you, Sir Henry. I sought you not, nor do I shrink from you. This correspondence will continue as long or as short as you please. The choice is

yours, but for your own sake do not again insult any part of the people by contemptuous nicknames, and do not violate truth and history by senseless, if not brutal, attacks on the only truly rational and the most salutary institutions.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Reference has been made on a previous page⁴ to the trial of Richard Barrett. It had been arranged that Sheil, whose name is mentioned in the following letter, should defend him; but a few hours before the day of trial O'Connell resolved to lead in person, feeling it a point of honour to do his best in bearing scathless the journalist who had refused, at great peril, to give to the Government a legal proof that O'Connell was the writer of certain incriminating letters.⁵ The jury were Tories of the old school, but O'Connell talked of their sense of honour, and hurled a fierce tirade against the Whigs more violent and seditious than anything Barrett had published, while he utilised the occasion by delivering a powerful argument in favour of Repeal of the Union. Barrett was now expiating his offence in Kilmainham Gaol.

To Richard Barrett.

Friday, Feb. 21st, 1834.

My dear Barrett,—I am so engaged about *you* that I can think of nothing else. I am happy indeed to say that all England is up in arms on this point. *The Times* is, indeed, decisive. The Statute will be at once repealed, or you will get a free pardon. Say nothing of this—publish nothing of what I write to you until the *Pilot* or the *Patriot* comes out 'proprio vigore.' I write only to relieve you from, I trust, all uneasiness; at all events, you may rely

⁴ See letter of Sept. 27, 1833.

⁵ Some time previous to this date an Orange compositor named Bull contrived to accumulate the MSS. of several actionable attacks in O'Connell's autograph. The *Tribune* and his friends were dismayed on hearing of this formidable

evidence. Bull was appealed to, and remonstrated with. Contrary to general expectation, the man's better feelings prevailed. He gathered up the manuscripts and cast them into the fire.—*The late A. Carew O'Dwyer to the Editor*, December 6, 1859.

on me, and I do hope and believe that this persecution will be only a new advertisement of your paper. I did not expect so much of public sympathy. Believe me, it will be irresistible. I will write to you every day. Sheil made a great impression on all the Members of the House. The attack on property is the chief stimulant in England. It will enable us to carry before us all opposition.

Publish that immediate steps will be taken to re-establish the *Pilot*. Call on the Irish people in your name and mine not to desert you at this juncture. Be argumentative and firm without violence ; but, in truth, in this state of transition I am not sobered down enough for advice. All I know is that *you* SHALL NOT be the sufferer.

Ever yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : Feb. 11, 1834.

Exert yourself above all things to get new subscribers [for Barrett]. Get every street in Dublin ransacked for subscribers for the *Pilot*, and call on Mr. Dwyer to aid him in forwarding my circular. Do not lose sight of this. Suggest to me any other steps I can take. I am preparing my Reply to that paltry creature Lord Cloncurry, though, Heaven knows, I have enough to do besides ; but no matter.

The allusions to 'Hill's Treason' in succeeding letters demand explanation. Mr. Matthew Davenport Hill, M.P., stated that some of the Irish members who denounced the Coercion Bill in the House had privately expressed opposite sentiments. Thirty members, including O'Connell, asked Mr. Hill if *they* had been referred to, and received a negative in reply. Letters and leaders appeared in the popular press, headed, 'Who is the Traitor?' At last Mr. Sheil put a question to Lord Althorp in Parliament, which elicited the reply, 'The honourable member is one of them!' Sheil denied the charge in solemn terms, and as both refused to give a guarantee that 'the matter now before the House should not be prosecuted out of its walls' both were

taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-arms. However, on the necessary pledges being given, the distinguished captives regained their liberty. An inquiry was held; Hill called witnesses; but Macaulay refused to speak. With great emotion Hill held out his hand to Sheil, and the Committee came to an end by acquitting him.

To Edward Dwyer.

London : 7 Feby. 1834.

My dear Friend,—I hope you have received the £100 from P. V. FitzPatrick. We thought it was a *subscription* for Dungarvan,⁶ but you know it is not. It is *on account* of salary. I hope to see you *fully* paid. No man ever deserved it better—nay, none so well.⁷

You perceive that we have got the business of *Hill's Treason* in full blow. The moment that Lord Althorp avowed his share of the calumny it would have been idle to think of sticking to such small fry as Hill. He has, therefore, been let off altogether—at least for the present. The more I reflect on the transition from him to the Government the more convinced am I that the prudent course has been taken. We are now at direct war with the Government upon the subject of the treason charge. I am quite convinced that we shall have a compleat triumph for Sheil, The Tories are certainly with us. Every independent man in the House is with us, and, remember, I tell you the facts are with us. I repeat my conviction that Sheil's triumph will be compleat. The charge has, indeed, dwindled down from a mountain to a molehill, but even the molehill must be crushed. On Monday I will certainly move for a Committee. They will give it to me or they will not. If they do give it, then we will have a compleat acquittal. If they do not, they shrink from the trial, and our triumph is, if possible, greater. Hurrah for Old Ireland!

I never conceived that the Government and the parlia-

⁶ The Dungarvan election, when Pierce George Barron was beaten by Ebenezer Jacob.

⁷ Edward Dwyer worked as sec-

retary to several political bodies acting under the auspices of O'Connell. He died in 1837.

ment of this country had half the rancorous hatred to Ireland which I have perceived since I came here. The fact is, they perceive we are becoming too great and too strong for their domination, and they hate us just in proportion as they fear us. If we can but keep the people of Ireland tranquil, if we can keep down Whitefeet agitation and crime, we shall have the Protestants joining us in shoals, and then the Repeal is inevitable.

Send every where to the Country for Repeal petitions. Let me have them over as speedily as possible. Despatch every petition the moment you receive it. Urge everybody to do the same. But do not be sending to me Petitions for the Lords. It is too bad to be asking me. . . .

[End lost.]

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: Friday, 7 Feby. 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Many, many thanks for your kind attention to all my commands.

Sheil's business will, believe me, end triumphantly for him. Already he is more than half acquitted. His going to any part of the Ministry is now denied; the advising to enforce a Bill which he opposed is given up. Something said *in private*, inconsistent with his opposition to the Bill itself, is all that is *now* insisted on. I have got the management of *the cause*, and I hope in my vanity that it will not fail in my hands. If it do it will be *all* my fault. Sheil is plainly free from guilt or from stain. The only difficulty is to ensure his triumph without so strongly damaging the Ministry that their minions may interfere and prevent our success, or at least diminish its splendour.

I find the House of Commons more intolerant of Ireland than it was last Session—hating us more—more disposed to do us mischief. It is a disposition which will evince itself in some overt acts before this Session is over. Well, it will make more honest as well as determined Repealers.

I got the paper containing Baron Smith's charge. I hope to have a committee appointed on his case next Thursday.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

12th Feby. 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Sheil's case, I have reason to believe, is going on admirably. Do not publish anything on the subject; nor am I at liberty to say one word on the subject, but keep 'the friends' in good spirits. *Sheil will triumph*. Give £50 as soon as you can to the Dungarvan Election if the contest goes on. I confess I am exceedingly nervous about it, and am right glad that Maurice⁸ went down there. His going will be a matter of exultation to our enemies if we be defeated, but in any event it will be no small consolation to me. I will then not have to blame myself. I hope to-morrow's post will bring me intelligence decisive the one way or the other on this subject. I am, indeed, *impatient*. It will be a triumph *to us* or *over us*.

The public attention here 'out of doors'—as our slang is—is so engrossed with the assessed taxes that they think of little else. In either way Friday next will either give an impetus to the public mind on this subject, or disengage it for other and more useful purposes.

I thank you for the punctuality of your correspondence. It is quite a consolation to me to get your letters.

Always yours sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: Friday, Feb. 14, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am without any Dungarvan news, but *Io triumphe!* here. Hill came into the Committee this day and made a very handsome apology for having made the charge at all; declared that, as well from the evidence already given as from his own particular enquiries, he was *now* convinced that the charge was totally unfounded, and he felt it his duty to beg Mr. Sheil's pardon. We are now engaged in drawing up the report. It is most satisfactory, and gives Sheil in every respect the most com-

⁸ His eldest son.

pleat victory. It remains to be seen what Lord Althorp will *now* do.

My victory in Baron Smith's case⁹ is also another subject of gratulation. The fact is that Littleton and the Ministry came down to the House determined to oppose my motion. But I made so strong a case for inquiry that they felt I ought not to be resisted. The debate was curious. The Ministry were divided, but you see I had a decided majority.

I will to-morrow write to you to make *inquiries*—necessary for the Committee. In the mean time find out witnesses to prove Baron Smith's *delays*. What newspaper did *his speech* first appear in? Send me an abstract of the calendar at the Sessions at which the charge was made, containing the names and *crimes*.—In haste,

Yours very truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Mem. by Mr. FitzPatrick.

I declined to mix myself up with the proceedings against Baron Smith. His long course of liberality in politics, his humanity as a judge and accomplishments as a scholar, had rendered him up to this time an object of admiration to me. Mr. O'Connell, in a subsequent letter, says he respected my sentiments in this particular.

⁹ On Feb. 13, O'Connell brought forward in the House of Commons a motion of censure against Baron Smith for neglect of his judicial

duties and of political partisanship. The motion was carried, but a few days later was rescinded.

CHAPTER XI.

Dungarvan Election—Motion of Censure on Baron Smith—Secretary Littleton again—Ireland ravaged by Cholera—Destructive Fire—Burial Service rudely prevented—Catholic Cemeteries projected—‘O’Connell’s Brewery’—Great Commercial Distress—Canterbury Cathedral—Sir Emerson Tennant—Motion in Parliament on Repeal—Anxious Preparations for Oratorical Contest with Spring Rice—He Desponds—The Tug of War—Result—James Magee—Tom Reynolds—The Agitation for Repeal suspended—Sharman Crawford—R. More O’Farrell—‘My Tithe Plan is shaking the Cabinet’—The Derby Dilly—The Irish National Bank started—The Reporters refuse to take down O’Connell’s Speeches—A Row and its Result—Private Understanding between the Irish Government and O’Connell—Scene between Littleton and the Liberator—An *Exposé*—Althorp, Grey, and Littleton resign.

IN 1834, on the death of its old representative, the Hon. William Lamb, a new writ was issued for the borough of Dungarvan. Pierce George Barron, a Catholic of local prestige, came forward as a candidate. Considerable excitement prevailed; but O’Connell’s voice rose above the storm.

‘I surely need not warn you,’ he said, ‘against the intrigues of the Castle, and the wretched sophistry of the advocates of deception. Pierce George Barron is respectable in private life, but he is contemptible as a politician. He was always found at the side of the enemies of his country, and he now desires to go into Parliament to preserve his consistency, and still to vote in support of the present paltry Administration—an Administration which has shown energy only against Ireland.

‘I cannot write more for this post. I now write only to caution you against delusion, deception, and Pierce George Barron, and to assure you that there is an honest Repealer about to solicit your votes as a true friend to Ireland.’

The ‘true friend’ was Ebenezer Jacob. O’Connell’s remark in the following letter, as regards the ‘desertion of John Galwey,’ is explained by a letter from Purcell O’Gorman, for many years secretary to the Catholic Association.

Galwey had been one of the ablest captains in the campaign against the Beresford power at the Waterford Election in 1826, and was now himself member for that county. O'Gorman, addressing 'My dear John' (*i.e.* Galwey), in a letter marked 'Private,' says that he read with indignation O'Connell's public animadversions on him, and that no one has aught else to expect who did not become his slave. Galwey should at once declare for George Barron, as 'you will get exactly the same credit as if you were neutral. O'Connell's party always distrusted you; they smiled as long as you worked with them; the moment their object is gained they will throw you away like a squeezed orange.'

O'Connell had subscribed £100 for Jacob's election, and O'Gorman with asperity added that, although he never got the money of the people,¹ HE would privately give the same sum towards Barron's expenses. The contest was close and bitter. Jacob, the nominee of O'Connell, headed the poll by a majority of thirty-six.

Amongst the papers in my hands is a letter from John O'Connell, the Liberator's brother, addressed to Purcell O'Gorman, from which it would appear that O'Gorman complained to John of alienated friendship on the part of 'Dan.' This letter is dated June 4, 1834. John cannot even conjecture what led to it; but the reason will be clear to the reader. John writes:—'My dear Purcell,—I was greatly mortified to *see* that Dan and you were at variance. I meet him so seldom that I cannot even conjecture what led to it; but this I will say, that the cause ought to be serious *indeed* that would induce a man to break with a long-trying and valued friend, and one with whom he acted for so many eventful years, and on such terms of intimacy and confidence as subsisted between him and you.' O'Connell's letter of March 12, 1829, in which he pleads for Purcell O'Gorman, will be remembered.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: Monday, Feb. 17, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Many thanks for your communications about Dungarvan. They have set my mind at

¹ See O'Connell's letter to Lord Shrewsbury, vol. ii. p. 284.

perfect ease. Indeed, the return of Jacob is one of the most pleasing events of my life, especially after the desertion of John Galwey.²

You must send me over witnesses' names for the committee on Baron Smith. He behaved very ill at Dundalk; he also behaved ill on the Castlepollard affair.

1st. Can you get me witnesses' names to prove his partiality to some Orange murderers at Dundalk, and his severity to some Catholic rioters there?

2d. What evidence of misconduct can I get as to Castlepollard Trials—I mean the trials of the Police for the massacre at that town? Write to Father Burke privately on this subject.

3dly. Give me the names of the proprietors of the newspapers to which Baron Smith sent his charge at the October commission, also the names of the reporters for those papers.

4thly. Send me the names of any other reporters who heard his charge, and can testify to its general accuracy.

5th. See Sir D. Roose for me, and get from him privately, and in the strictest confidence, the names of the persons who can prove the loss his son's client sustained last term by Baron Smith's late sitting. I want to prove the hour he sat each day, so as to shew that his usual hour for sitting was as late as half after twelve to $\frac{1}{2}$ after one, or later.

6th. See Fearon, the sub-sheriff, on this subject, and act with him also in confidence. He will tell you, as he is a sincere friend of mine, what *he* and *others* can prove respecting the hours of sitting after Lent³ term.

² In 1832 John Galwey had contested Dungarvan and polled 370 votes. Three years later he opposed an utter stranger, Sir Michael O'Loughlen, for the same borough, but polled merely 88, so powerful was O'Connell in destroying the popularity of any man who refused to recognise him as leader. Barron was appointed stipendiary magistrate for Mayo; O'Gorman became County

Court Judge for Kilkenny. 'The first Viceroy who took me up was Lord Anglesey,' remarked O'Gorman long after. 'Nay,' replied Con Leyne, 'to my knowledge Lord Cornwallis took you up in '98.' This was perfectly true, O'Gorman having been lodged in Ennis gaol for complicity in the Rebellion.

³ Easter Term.

7th. Give me as much assistance as you can respecting every point of evidence included in my charges against Baron Smith.

More to-morrow.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : Thursday, Feb. 20, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Take the enclosed at once to Barrett. Tell him I bid you read it, so as to be prepared to speak with you upon its details. I wonder you and Staunton did not consult Pigot⁴ before you resolved upon any course.

If Pigot be not in Dublin, consult O'Loghlen and Perrin professionally as to whether Barrett may not safely work off the stamps which he has already got in continuing the publication of the *Pilot*.⁵ My opinion is that he can do so safely. There is no penalty added in the 21st sec., and I take it that, without the reiteration of the penalty, none would accrue.

The second plan suggested is that Barrett should become proprietor of the *Patriot*. Let the opinion be taken whether he is entitled to stamps as proprietor of *another* paper.

Then, if not, we must get a proprietor. We surely are not so destitute of friends as not to get some person who will run the risk of proprietorship, passing his bond for a large sum as the price. I will indemnify any such person. I will engage Barrett as editor of the *Pilot* or of the *Patriot*, whatever name is the better, at a salary to be paid by me. I will run the risk of the actual proprietor paying me the proceeds of the paper, or of any sum in lieu thereof. I will not require any promise or contract from such proprietor to pay me any thing. In short, I will do every act

⁴ Afterwards Chief Baron Pigot.

⁵ This letter refers to the prosecution of Richard Barrett, of the

Pilot. No newspaper in those days could be printed unless on a sheet impressed with the Government stamp.

necessary to make the purchaser of the paper the real proprietor of it. He must run the risk of libels; that is all.

Consult with Barrett. Look about you. Get somebody between you who will take the temporary risk of libels, for certainly the clause under which he is proscribed *must be repealed*. If nobody else will take that risk I will, for Barrett must be sustained.

I was not aware of this Act until I had the notice. Lay the copy of the indictment against Barrett before the lawyers you consult. Let them say whether it be an indictment coming under the terms of the Act. Send me also a copy of the indictment.

In short, we must bestir ourselves. I repeat, Barrett must not be the sufferer. I infinitely prefer going to jail myself to having him thus suffer.

If the new proprietor be a person of character, let him set up the *Patriot* even without passing a bond to Barrett, if he has any scruples as to swearing to proprietorship.

Instituting the *Patriot* would, I think, free the matter from any scruple. I will take Barrett off the proprietor's hands, whilst I canvass eagerly, anxiously for the paper.

I would also prefer a jail to giving up my charge against Baron Smith; that is the most useful movement I ever made. It will strike a salutary terror into a set of the greatest scoundrels that ever disgraced humanity. The Government intend to oppose Sir Edward Knatchbull's motion,⁶ so we shall have the committee after all. Indeed it would be a proof of great weakness if they did not do so.

I will bring the matter before the House and the public. I will apply for leave to bring in a *short Bill* for the purpose of assimilating the Law of Ireland to that of England in this particular. I do not foresee any opposition to such a Bill.

⁶ It was on the motion of Sir E. Knatchbull that the vote of censure on Baron Smith was rescinded, Feb.

21. (See the *Colchester Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 134, 553.)

In short, this is another spirit-stirring incident, taking care that Barrett shall not suffer. I will, I hope,⁷ be able to make it useful.

Always yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

If Maurice be in Dublin, tell him I implore of him to come over.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 22nd Feb. 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—This day's post will tell you that it is unnecessary for us to take any more trouble about Baron Smith. Of course I would, as I ought, respect your delicacy if the matter had been otherwise. This defeat is easily borne, especially as it saves me from an extreme deal of trouble.

But it is an admirable topic of Repeal agitation, if our friends of the Liberal Press would for a moment forget their foolish good-nature towards a man who has halloed on the Government against the people for the last three years, besides the inestimable advantage of proving to our miscreant Judges that they are not altogether free from the possibility of punishment. Now that Smith is safe, I hope our press will use the topic to prove the disregard of the House to the Irish nation.

I could not reply to Peel last night, but I will on another

⁷ Baron Smith, the friend and confidant of Edmund Burke, had consistently supported the Catholic claims. As a political and philosophical writer he was equally distinguished: his style of oratory was chaste and classical; but, unhappily for his fame, he used it in advocacy of the Union in 1800. His addresses from the Bench sought to inculcate constitutional doctrine; but amongst his eccentricities was a habit of never going to bed; he slept in an arm-chair, and the daily business of his court has often begun with gaslight. The attack made upon him in Parliament, as in the case of

Judge Keogh, did not prolong his life. He died on August 21, 1836.

The *Dublin Evening Post*, of July 26, 1834, contains the following charge on opening the Court at Kilkenny, and Conway, the editor, expresses satisfaction that 'the Baron has been cured of his *cacoëthes loquendi*.'

'Gentlemen of the Jury,—I have to congratulate you on the lightness of your calendar. That and other circumstances render it quite unnecessary for me to detain you any longer.' The son of this judge, T. B. C. Smith, was the Attorney-General who prosecuted O'Connell to conviction in 1844.

occasion. The rules of the House are, on this point, inconvenient.

. . . There is no doubt of the repeal of the clauses in the Stamp Act ; not the least.

Hurrah for the Repeal!!!

Ever yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : Monday, Feb. 24, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Give Nic^s Maher⁸ the £50 for Dungarvan election. It is said that the Irish government supplied Barron⁹ with the money to contest that town. Is this possible!!!

If we could trace it there could not occur a more fortunate *blow*.

I forgot at home the two quarto vols. of Barrington's *History of the Union*, and his abbreviation of the same work on the rise and fall of Ireland in one vol. The fact is, I thought they were left out for packing, but they have not come.

Go to my house and search my study, and the book rooms in the back building, and also the drawing room. If you do not find them there, in the back drawing room there is a bookcase, which get a smith to open, and search it. In short, search until you find them, and then carefully pack them and transmit them to me by coach. There are some loose numbers of the work in my study, but I do not want these. Do this for me as soon as you possibly can. Tell Staunton I will want him here for a few days before the great debate on the Repeal question.

If the Government allow me to-morrow to bring in my Dublin Corporation Bill it will be a great blow to the adverse faction.—Believe me always,

Very sincerely yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁸ Nicholas V. Maher, of Turtulla, County Tipperary, a staunch adherent.

⁹ Pierce George Barron. How

little O'Connell suspected that his old colleague, Purcell O'Gorman, gave £100 to help Barron in opposing Jacob!

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 26th February, 34.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Prevent any commentary in the *Register* on any inaccuracy which may appear on the readiness of Barrett to take upon himself the liability of the prosecution. His letter to O'Dwyer told powerfully. It is, perhaps, quite unnecessary for me to say anything on this subject, but let *that matter* rest as it is.

There never, my good friend, was a more foolish falsehood than the statement that Fergus O'Connor meant to attack me. He is daily attacking all my enemies, and there is not one of the Irish members more heartily cordial with me than he is. Attack me!!! I thought you should have better known the poor old daggerman¹ than to believe one word from him.

The Ministry promise a Corporate Reform Bill, but my opinion is that they merely intend to delude. *Nous verrons*. I would have done better last night and divided had I not been *crossed* by honest Barron.² Littleton, believe me, is not a friend to Ireland. It was he that originated the suppression of the *Pilot*.

You see we had a glorious Repeal meeting here last Saturday. Believe me that the Repeal will soon be a popular measure amongst all the Radicals of England.

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To John Primrose.³

London : 3rd March, 1834.

My dear John,—As far as I am concerned, spare no expense that can possibly alleviate the sufferings of the people. You had better at once get Maurice O'Connor from Tralee,

¹ Frederick William Conway, editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*.

² Henry Winston Barron, M.P. for Waterford. This gentleman afterwards received a baronetcy. His vote proved of importance on a

rather close division. He felt that he had 'a lease for life' of the seat; but one day, having declined to take the Repeal pledge, O'Connell by a nod deposed him.

³ O'Connell's land agent.

so as to have one medical man in Cahirciveen, and another to go to the country villages or single houses, wherever the disorder⁴ appears. If it breaks out at all about Darrynane, Dr. O'Connor should go there at once to give the people every possible assistance. I will pay him readily 2 guineas a day while he is in the country. Do not delay, my dear John. Everybody should live as full as possible, eating meat twice a day. Get meat for the poor as much as possible. I wish my poor people about Darrynane should begin a meat diet before the disorder arrives amongst them. Two, three, four beeves I would think nothing of. Coarse blankets also may be very useful if got for them promptly. Could you not get coals from Dingle? If not, get them from Cork. In short, if I could contribute to save one life I would deem it a great blessing at the expense of a year's income. I spoke to Mr. Roche;⁵ he will write this day to Mr. Sullivan of Cove to give Father O'Connell £20 for that parish, particularly for Hartopp's tenants. But a physician is most wanting. Give me the fullest details; but above and before all things, *be prodigal* of relief out of my means—beef, bread, mutton, medicines, physician, everything you can think of. Write off to Father O'Connell to take every previous precaution—a mass every possible day and getting the people to go to confession and communion, rosaries and other public prayers to avert the Divine Wrath.

Yours most affectionately,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 6th March, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Some days have elapsed since I wrote to you or to Barrett, for a reason you could not conjecture—merely a change in my hour of dining. I now

⁴ The first visitation of Asiatic cholera was now pursuing its ravages in Ireland.

⁵ The late Sir David Roche, agent to Mr. Hartopp, of Little Dalby,

Leicestershire, who had extensive property in the same parish as Darrynane Abbey. Mr. O'Sullivan was the sub-agent.

dine at the hour I used to write, but I will arrange to do *both* in future.

There is nothing like news which is not contained in the public prints. In fact, it is surprising with what apathy men look at the approaching events. It does seem certain that France is on the eve of a revolution, and yet it excites neither apprehension nor even notice. This country, too, is in a most unsatisfactory state—great discontent, great folly, great carelessness.

I will send you a cheque for £100 to be applied to Barrett's expenses, so that after he has got the 100 guineas he may receive in future £10 per week, exclusive of paying for his rooms. I will continue that sum until his liberation, and of course pay his fine.

I smile at your account of the triumph of my enemies in recent events. The fact is that my enemies are always claiming victories, and yet you see I get on, and am no worse in the end. There never was a man so often put down as I have been, nor any who was so soon found on his legs again, blessed be the will of God!

The Government do not know what to do with or about Ireland.

I was truly glad to hear your account of the prospect of prosperity. I hope it will not be a mere vision.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Allusion will be found in O'Connell's letters of this time to John O'Neill. He was a Protestant merchant of Dublin equally distinguished for wealth and patriotism, and people regarded him with interest as a survivor of the Volunteer army of 1782. He often took the chair at O'Connell's meetings, remarking that in 1782 he was too young to be of much use to Ireland, and was then, he feared, too old.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : March 7th, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—There is a petition come in against Jacob.⁶ What can be done to lighten the expense? I must give £50 more.

See Mr. O'Neill and tell him that there are two or three of his fellow sufferers by the Custom House fire pressing me to bring that matter before the House. He, however, has been and is so much more interested, that I cannot do anything without his assent. It is a question of individual property, and I must regulate my motions by the will of the persons principally concerned. It was, perhaps, discreet in the Chamber of Commerce, when discussing this subject in their late report, to forget my exertions, and if so, nobody approves of such discretion more than I do. Why should I think of it for one moment? I am, at all events, as ready and as anxious to be of use to them, if I can, as if they had crowned me with laurels.⁷ . . .

If the Ministry had any notion of continuing Coercion laws for Ireland they will not have time. We are giving them plenty to do, and some to spare. If anyone speaks to you of the local taxation of Dublin, give my explanation of inactivity—namely, that the Government have determined to leave the management of that concern to the reformed Corporation. This gives hope of a more speedy corporate reform than many imagine.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

An illiberal practice which had long prevailed at last reached a crisis in the rude interruption of Archdeacon, afterwards Bishop, Blake, when uttering a prayer at the grave of Mr. Darcy in the Protestant churchyard of St.

⁶ The attempt to unseat Ebenezer Jacob for Dungarvan.

⁷ A great fire broke out in the Custom House stores on August 9, 1833, by which a large amount of

property was destroyed. The reports issued by the Chamber of Commerce at this period are not accessible for reference, even in the library of that institute.

Kevin. Roman Catholic cemeteries did not exist; the dead of the proscribed faith had long been admitted to Protestant churchyards and brought much profit to the parson; but the burial service was not sanctioned, and was usually read over the remains before enclosing them in the hearse.⁸

'Yielding to the request of a near and venerable relative of the deceased,' writes Dr. Blake, 'I took off my hat to assuage, by a short condoling prayer, the sorrows of the living—to implore perpetual rest and peace for the departed soul; and at this moment, and without any other provocation, the order of Dr. Magee⁹ was wrung in my ear, that I must not offer any prayer over that grave! Gracious heavens! is there a country in the universe so degraded as Ireland?' This letter got into the newspapers and created a deep impression. It had long been believed that an Act of Parliament stood in the way of any reform in this direction, but O'Connell said that he would drive a coach and six through it; and in 1828, at the Catholic Association, he unfolded his plan for opening a burial-place for his co-religionists. This after many years was sanctioned and ratified by a special Act of Parliament.

O'Connell, privately addressing Father L'Estrange,¹ writes:—

My dearest Friend,—It is perfectly legal for any sect of Christians to have separate burial grounds.

The Catholics have a kind of pre-eminent right to this privilege. At Common Law, when the Catholic religion was part and parcel of the Constitution, they had undoubtedly this right. It has not been taken away by any Statute whatsoever.

There is a vulgar error which attributes this right to merely unenclosed churchyards. They are equally legal, whether enclosed or not.

It is advisable to have a Chapel adjacent to each burial

⁸ St. James's Churchyard, Dublin, like old St. Pancras, London, was the chief place of burial for Roman Catholics. The Pope annually said mass on St. James's Day in Rome for the Catholic 'faithful' interred in the Protestant graveyard of St.

James.

⁹ Dr. Magee, author of a great book on the *Atonement*, ruled the see of Dublin.

¹ A Carmelite friar, who was O'Connell's confessor.

ground, but it is not necessary. The legal right is not affected thereby; but the vicinage of a Church affords a more legitimate opportunity of celebrating the burial service with suitable solemnity and religion. Thus you will find no legal obstacle whatever to the plan of Catholic burial grounds.

O'Connell worked hard to attain this end, but failed to obtain the thanks that he deserved.

To Edward Dwyer.

London: March 15, 1834.

My dear Friend,—I wrote to you yesterday expressing my just indignation 'at the vile manner in which the Burial Committee' treated me. They actually sent me without preface a vote of condemnation containing the most false charge imaginable. I was obliged to hurry so much with the letter I sent you yesterday,² having actually to run after the bag of letters, that I probably was not sufficiently distinct. I wish that you and my other real friends—alas, how few!—should distinctly understand the falsehood of the charges made against me.

1st. It is the duty of every member to do the private Bill business of every constituent, whether he voted for him or not.

2nd. The only way of getting rid of private Bills is *in the Committee*. It is very, very seldom the House allows a debate on a second reading. We had but one this Session. The House never rejects a private Bill unless its principle be grossly wrong.

3rd. Apply these topics to the Dublin Cemetery Bill, and you will find that it was impossible to defeat it at its first or second reading, because its principle was perfectly right.

4th. The principle of the Bill was that this was a joint stock partnership, which without parliamentary aid could not *sue* or be *sued*. Unless they got a Bill to sue or be sued

² That letter being a repetition, it is needless to give it.

in the name of their secretary, it would not be practical for them to recover money or property belonging to them. Nor would it be possible for any person to whom they may owe money to recover it from them; neither could they sue a defaulting member; that is, the practical difficulties are so great as to amount in reality to an impossibility.

Thus, therefore, for the protection of the public it was my duty to get them a *Bill*, and I repeat it would have been impossible to throw out their *Bill* at the first or second reading.

5th. All the objections to this *Bill* are objections to be made *in the Committee*, when, of course, *it was* my intention to make them.

6th. But why should I take charge of a *Bill* nine-tenths of which I certainly disapprove of? My answer is, because that is the only way in which I could get rid of the objectionable parts without failure.

If any other person but me were chairman of the *Committee*, Mahony or his friends might contrive to trick me. They might sit precisely at times when I could not possibly attend. I therefore took charge of the *Bill* that I may have it in my power.

7th. This is precisely what I did last year with the *Kingstown Railway*, which I got the *Committee* to throw out. *This Bill* I would also throw out in the *Committee* but for the necessity of giving the powers to sue and be sued which I have mentioned.

Shew this letter to all *real* friends, not as a vindication, because I have nothing to vindicate, but to shew that Mr. John Redmond and his colleagues have vilely and untruly calumniated me.

Do not shew it to Mr. Redmond or any of his party. I did not expect such usage at his hands.

This is the grossest instance of condemnation without trial which ever occurred. I have done the best way for our *Burial Ground Committee*. I have secured that Mahony, active and managing as he is, shall *not* do them any harm. I have done the *best* thing *practicable*, and for

this my friends—may I be protected from my friends!—vote me guilty at once.

This, you perceive, has annoyed me more than it ought. It is to find that men who ought to know me preferred to act from their own ignorance of forms and proceedings instead of confiding in my experience until they should hear from their deputy, Mr. O'Kelly.³

It is long since I had any temptation to——but no, no; and I will take as much care to cut this Bill down as if I had been treated as I *ought* to be. Of course, when I took charge of the Bill, I told Mahony *how much* I intended to do for him. I practised no deception on him. It is, however, probable that his company will never act under the Bill which they are entitled to. I now dismiss this subject for ever. It has taught me to know mankind, alas! better than I did.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell was a man of strong impulse, and, as his daughter once remarked to us, 'sometimes too fond of calling things by their right names.' But he was a bad hater, and when the thunder of his wrath had subsided he thought no more of it. It is pleasant to find John Redmond and he afterwards working shoulder to shoulder for Repeal.⁴

As regards the Cemeteries Committee, O'Connell himself eventually became a member of that Board. When called to his great account they promptly assembled, and by their energy largely helped to promote the grand national monument to his memory which now rears its head in Glasnevin. One day, not long previous to O'Connell's death, a tattered stroller asked him for relief, pleading a personal acquaintance in aid of the claim.

'I never saw you before, my good man,' said O'Connell.

'That's not what your honor's son would say to me,' returned the applicant, 'for he got me a good place at Glasnevin Cemetery, only I hadn't the luck to keep it.'

³ Mathias J. O'Kelly, afterwards Secretary to the Dublin Cemeteries Committee.

⁴ Traces of cordial co-operation

may be found in O'Keeffe's *Life of O'Connell*, vol. ii. p. 627, where 'John Redmond, a patriotic citizen,' seconds a motion made by O'Connell.

'Then, indeed, you were strangely unlucky,' rejoined O'Connell, 'for those who have places in cemeteries generally keep them.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

17th March, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am glad you are better; yet your headaches must give uneasiness to your friends. I do not think you earn them by any excess. Do not do anything for me which can in any way affect your health. I may say you are not aware how sincerely gratitude and esteem have attached me to you as one of my best of friends.

Your account of the Brewery is very cheering; I trust it will do all that I can wish for my son and *for others*. I will write myself, the first leisure moment, to your brewer, Mr. D'Arcy. I see that, if he can continue to give his attention and apply his skill, you must succeed. But if you do I certainly will make it a point with my son that Mr. D'Arcy should participate in that success. This was the even plan by which Beamish and Crawford made their fortune. Everybody who participated in advancing their interests shared in the emoluments arising from the success of his exertions, and certainly Mr. D'Arcy seems by your account to be placing himself precisely in that situation in which, I trust, the result will be that wisdom will dictate that which generosity ought to be ready to suggest.

It is, however, perhaps too soon to anticipate sufficient success to make a percentage upon increased profits of any value to him. But recollect that you should keep this in your recollection, and although the amount of such percentage may at first be small, yet it would open to the brewer a principle of action towards him which would give him the certainty that he would be benefitting himself as well as others by his attention to the economy and goodness of his brewing.

It was a percentage on profits, not on sales, which Beamish and Crawford gave. The distinction is obvious.

It makes the brewer combine the utmost economy in point of expenditure with the utmost possible value of the liquor produced.

If I hear again so pleasing an account, I will write to Roger Hayes upon this point. It is one fit to be considered. But, perhaps, present appearances are only delusive.⁵ Let me hear of your health.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Archbishop MacHale.

London : 22nd March, 1834.

My ever-respected Lord,—I had the honour of receiving a letter from you some time ago promising a Repeal petition, and I wish to say the petition has not come to hands. I regret to be obliged to add that the number of Repeal petitions does not at all correspond with my hopes and expectations.

I am the more sorry for this, because I have the most intimate conviction that nothing of value can possibly be done for Ireland until we have a domestic Parliament. The faction, which in all its ramifications bears so severely on our people and our country, can never be rendered innoxious whilst they can cling, even in idea, to support from the Government of this country.

It is a subject of serious but melancholy speculation to reflect upon the innate spirit of hatred of everything Irish which seems to be the animating principle of their existence. You certainly have two distinct specimens of the worthless-

⁵ There was a brewery at this time in Dublin known as O'Connell's Brewery. O'Connell invested £2,000 in it and several friends joined the proprietary. It boldly faced Guinness's Brewery in James's Street, and people assumed that O'Connell's name would ensure its success. P. V. FitzPatrick held office in it, and most of the letters before us are addressed to 'O'Connell's Brewery.' But FitzPatrick knew more of poetry

than of porter. The brewery was crippled for want of capital, and proved not successful, though under another name and proprietary it has since done well. Public attention has latterly been given so excitedly to brewing as a commercial enterprise, it is interesting to find that, half a century ago, O'Connell saw the shadow which coming events cast before, and apprenticed one of his sons to a London brewer.

ness of that existence in your County members. Two such 'lubbers,' as the seamen would call them, two such 'bos-toons,' as we in Munster would denominate them, never yet figured on any stage, public or private.

One of the best of your Lordship's good works will be assisting to muster such a combination of electoral force in your County as will ensure the rejection of both at the next practical opportunity. I should be tempted to despair of Ireland if I could doubt of your success.

I read with deep and painful interest your published letters to Lord Grey. What a scene of tyranny and heartless oppression on the one hand!—what a frightful view of wretchedness and misery on the other!

A man is neither a human being nor a Christian who does not devote all his energies to find a remedy for such grievances. But that remedy is not to be found in a British Parliament.

You will see by the papers that the Protestant Dissenters in this country are storming that citadel of intolerance and pride, the Established Church. The effect of such an attack can operate only for good in Ireland. This was the stronghold of the Irish Establishment. As long as they had England at their back, they could laugh to scorn all attempts in Ireland to curb them; but I believe, firmly believe, their days are numbered, and hope that we shall see, but certainly not weep.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

In 1834 O'Connell was driven by journalistic pressure, and the undue ardour of partisans, to make a motion in Parliament on Repeal of the Union. Peel strongly opposed the motion, and quoted the words of Canning, 'Repeal the Union!—re-enact the Heptarchy!' But it was reserved for Spring Rice—a quondam democrat, now, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer—to overwhelm O'Connell with a vast heap of ugly figures. 'Talk not to me of facts,' says Sidney Smith, 'there's nothing so fallacious as facts, unless—figures.' O'Connell knew the sort

of man with whom he had to deal. Rice had facts cut and dry for all the stereotyped points of popular oratory. Figures were not O'Connell's *forte*, and his heart sank as the struggle drew near. In previous letters he speaks of Staunton's financial hits as 'thumpers,' and it occurred to him that if he had Staunton beside him now he could beat Rice, like Bobadil, with his own weapons. In the midst of a despondency bordering on despair, and of which it is painful to trace the record, he appeals to the man who, a year before, he described as his enemy in every critical moment of his political life,⁶ and now conjures him to come to his aid.⁷ Previously, however, he unbosomed some thoughts to FitzPatrick.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . I have been under the necessity to put my Repeal motion off to the later of my two days, the 22nd, as this vacation is not to terminate until the 14th, and it would be too soon to have it come on the day after the recess. I should be jockeyed if I were to adhere to *that* day; the 22nd of April is therefore to be 'the great day,' big with the fate of Cato and Rome.

There are no news. The Administration is *toppling on*, all at sixes and sevens amongst themselves, without the least power in the Lords, and detested by the people. They cannot go on in their present hopeless state.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I feel lonely and somewhat surprised that I do not hear of or from you. I hope ill-health is not the cause.

Next Tuesday week is *the day* for the grand discussion. I want *this* information.

1st. *The History of the Rise and Downfall of the Irish Nation*, one vol., by Sir Jonah Barrington. I lost mine; it was *borrowed*.

2d. Plowden's *History*, the first work and also the

⁶ See letter of June 20, 1833.

⁷ Letter of April 9, 1834.

second. You will, I think, find the first in the small back study in my house at the Square.

Thirdly. I do not find the account of the dispersion of County meetings called by Sheriffs to petition against the Union. I recollect one dispersed at Maryboro'. I want the exact dates, and a *book* to quote them from. Another was dispersed at Clonmel.

Fourthly. I want the reports of the Irish Lords and Commons in 1797 and 1798. The first especially, to shew that the Government were in possession of the meetings of the Colonels of the United Irishmen for more than a year before the Rebellion *exploded*.

These *must* be sent to me by the first coach. No delay can I afford.

I wrote to Staunton to come to me. Think you can he come? I wrote also for MacCabe. If he comes I will publish my speech as a pamphlet, with a preface, address, appendix, and observations on any case in reply. He is the man for my money.

But, after all, I can make but little, miserably little, of my subject. Would to God it were in abler hands!

The moment we are defeated I will reorganise the Repeal agitation on a new plan.

No news. Great *commercial* distress, or at least manufacturing; of course agricultural. The Trades Union either going to sleep or to rebel; foolish in either case, and wicked too.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: Ap. 7, 1834.

My dear Friend,—I spent last week travelling. I went to Canterbury, and thence by the coast to Brighton. A splendid coast occasionally, through a country daily gaining on the sea; but, except near Hastings and Brighton, which are *shew* towns, a country manifestly fading, and, as they say, *worsening*. The towns on the other parts of the coast

are decaying, the farm houses shewing a long interval since the last repair, and the picture exhibiting dark colours in a great extent of land.

At Canterbury the Cathedral excited all my attention. They are restoring its antient architectural beauty, but thereby shewing more distinctly the nakedness of Protestant worship. But it is a splendid building. I kissed the stone stained with the blood of the holy Martyr of religion and liberty, the illustrious Saint Thomas à Becket, one of the most valuable of the patriots of England.⁸ What a gorgeous temple it must have been when the principal altar glistened with gold and jewels in the light of 500 wax candles!

But I should let my prose run mad if I was to indulge my heart and head with the *vision of glory* of seeing that church again devoted to its original purposes and heard the voice of the choir re-echoed through its majestic aisles and transepts.

I am now preparing for my display on the 22d. My materials have overcome me, and I shall disappoint my friends and Ireland by a miserable display.

Could you get from the Distillery or Michael Maley a printed statement respecting the periods at which the Irish Distillers were, since the Union, prohibited from working? I want, in particular, the statement respecting the stoppages in 1811. I want all the information which was printed on the subject of the Irish Distilleries;⁹ I mean the 'wrongs' of the Irish Distillers.

⁸ O'Connell, writing to another friend, says:—

'I did not know the exact spot where the saint fell martyred, but the verger showed it to me. I knelt down and kissed the stone which had received his life-blood. The verger, in horror, told me that he would be dismissed if the Dean saw that he allowed any "Popish work" there. I, to console him, asked him his fee, and he told me it was a shilling. I gave him half-a-crown, saying that the additional one and sixpence was for his fright. He thanked me, and, having carefully

looked out into the grounds, he said, "He's not there, sir; you may kiss it again for nothing. When a real gentleman comes, I let him do as he likes, for I am very liberal." I think (added O'Connell) that he wanted another half-a-crown, but, though I never was in office, I remained on that occasion under the crown.'

⁹ In 1836 ninety distilleries were at work in Ireland, in 1868 twenty-two only. Since the latter date the consumption of alcohol has unhappily increased.

I wish you would see Mr. John McMullen and get from him *printed papers* and any facts he may favor me with respecting the linen trade, and in particular the manner in which the bounty on imported linen yarn operated to shift the trade from Ireland to Scotland.

You have no notion how my zeal for the Repeal has been augmented by my preparations. I repeat, however, my strong sense of my own incapacity to do them justice.

Previous letters to Barrett find O'Connell revelling in the boast that he 'scattered the Philistines' and 'literally brought down the House.' He did not overrate his own power. 'You see the greatness of his genius in every sentence he utters,' writes James Grant at this time. 'Peel has more tact and dexterity in debate, but in genius, none approach O'Connell. It ever and anon burst forth with a brilliancy and effect which are quite overwhelming. You have not well recovered from the overpowering surprise and admiration caused by one of his brilliant effusions, when another flash is upon you and produces the same effect.'

The reaction that succeeded this prolonged flash of triumph is traceable in the letters to FitzPatrick and Staunton with reference to the forthcoming Repeal speech.

To Michael Staunton.

London: 9th April, 1834.

My dear Staunton,—I never felt half *so nervous* about anything as I do about my Repeal effort. It will be my worst. I sink beneath the load. My materials are confused, and totally without arrangement. I wish you *could* come here and bring MacCabe. I would readily be at the entire expense; but you should come without delay. In fact it is at the last moment I venture to write to you on this subject. I say venture, because I am convinced there will be nothing in my speech deserving recollection, or any extraordinary exertion, by my friends. It is quite true that I have often desponded before a public exertion, and afterwards succeeded, but this cannot now be the case. I feel

for the first time *overpowered*. Well, can you come to me? Can you bring MacCabe?¹ If I had in the Galleries here such a reporter as he is of my speeches, sinking the weak points and mending the best, I would stand high among orators. But it is in vain to dwell on minor points. Politics are at present most critical; the approach to a crisis is at least *apparent*. All the predisposing symptoms, as the Doctors say, appear; and yet I should be astonished unless they all evaporate in idle words and foolish menaces. The Trades Unions are in themselves, it is true, formidable, but it is only their numbers which render them so, and then they are neutralized by the ignorance, perhaps dishonesty, certainly incapacity, of many of their leaders. I do think the present menacing appearances will blow over, and without considerable popular apathy, and much addition to ministerial power are likely to be the only permanent consequences of the present discontent. At all events, it is purely an English quarrel, and the Irish deserve every species of misfortune if they are so foolish as to interpose. There is, indeed, only one thing certain, that nothing but the Repeal can be of any utility to Ireland.²

Ever yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

¹ William Bernard MacCabe, author of a *Catholic History of England* and other works. The *Illustrated London News*, in a memoir of Cardinal MacCabe, erroneously states that his Eminence was a son of this gentleman. In 1835 MacCabe removed to London and became a Parliamentary reporter. He is still alive, aged 88.

² Having been in correspondence with Lord Monteagle a few years before his death in reference to some letters to Dr. Doyle which he had promised to send for insertion in the bishop's *Life*, I allowed him to see O'Connell's appeal to Staunton. The old statesman's reply is highly interesting, but as O'Connell and Rice had been pitted and consistent foes, the recorded impressions of either side should be taken *cum grano*.

O'Connell nicknamed Monteagle 'Lord Mountgoose.'

'Mount Trenchard:

'3 Sept. 1858.

'Dear Sir,— . . . The letter of which you so obligingly sent me a copy is a very curious one indeed. I think, as the result of much observation, that O'Connell was most successful where he *felt* most strongly and where he was *least* laboriously prepared. In the Union speech he was exposed to both these inconveniences. He did not give me the appearance of any earnest conviction. For the most part his argument might have been conceded, and the conclusion denied and controverted. For instance, supposing that all the injustice of Strafford and the severities described by Spenser were admitted—and I am

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Magee's memorial shall be as well treated as I can promise it to be. On this subject you shall hear from me again. An accident prevented its going forward in a favourable shape sooner. But surely you and Mr. Magee both know that its coming through me is a disparagement.³

This I endeavoured to obviate, but I cannot, and so must do the best I can. We have in all its details a rascally Government.

Could you get Staunton or Barrett to republish the speech made by Boyton at the Conservative Club on the financial part of the Union?

Shall I make a quiet or a wicked speech? Wicked for ever—is it not so?

I got the Bishop's resolutions. I regret bitterly that the old love of Ireland does not predominate. We must

not one who would controvert them—that does not touch the question of the expediency or in expediency of the Repeal of the Union. The question of the competency of Ireland to walk alone, the necessity of resting on some stronger power—England or France—and the relative consequence of the one or the other of these alternatives, is not approached. The practicability of a single executive monarch and the impracticability of a dissevered Legislature—all this is passed over. The great indignation felt at permitting England, as before 1782, to claim legislative authority over Ireland when Ireland was unrepresented is confounded with her position when she attained what Molineux considered too great a boon to be expected—a share in both houses of an Imperial Parliament. Who is so absurd as to call Scotland a province or not to see that it is to the Union she owes her strength and prosperity? Again, what is proved even by the eloquent declamation in 1799 and

1800 of Plunket and Burke? Nothing beyond the weight of their names coupled with the fact that these Philips, sober, but reversed the dicta of their days of intoxication. Then how can he repeat the sophisms of Locke, who, without denying that there must be in every state a supreme power, would endeavour to place bounds on that supreme authority?—and that in a country where our Sovereign has no title to show but the Parliamentary one of 1688.

'I believe O'Connell urged the Repeal with a view to the accomplishment of other things, in which he *seriously believed that Ireland would be benefited*. He used Repeal as a householder might use a wolf-dog in a leash, not wishing to loose the animal, but to frighten those whom he considered as evil-doers with his howl.'

³ Possibly Mr. James Magee, of the *Dublin Evening Post*, who soon after was appointed a police magistrate. (See p. 435.)

in private expostulate with them *separately*. This I will endeavour to do, but *privately*, of all things.

How anxious I am to know whether Staunton and MacCabe can come.

MacCabe must have one or two to help him with my speech. We will arrange with the *Freeman*.

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Edward Dwyer.

24th April, 1834.

I knocked myself up after my five hours' speech by going too soon into the night air without a cloak; but having confined myself to the house the entire of yesterday, I have got quite rid of sore throat and headache, and am able to join again in the debate to-night.

I never felt more buoyant in spirits, nor so strong in my hopes of Repeal, as at this moment. When an accurate report of my speech appears, as it will, without delay, from the notes of Mr. MacCabe, with the documentary illustrations, I *do* think it will make an impression in Ireland. I was unable to use a tenth part of the materials with which I am provided, and I exhausted half my speech in proving *the Rights*. Up to this moment all is not only well, but infinitely better than could have been expected, and nothing but keeping up religious dissensions in Ireland can possibly prevent us from becoming too powerful in moral influence to allow the *nation* to continue much longer in the condition of a province.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: Friday, 25th April, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—All is going on exceedingly well. Emerson Tennent⁴ *printed* a long abusive speech, of which he delivered as much as he could recollect. He was cut up

⁴ M.P. for Belfast, and author of a *History of Ceylon*. He began as a Liberal, but went over to the Tories with Stanley. O'Connell

was generally at war with him, and predicted that he would soon cease to be the *Tenant* for Belfast. Died 1869.

exceedingly well by Feargus O'Connor, who made an effective speech. Littleton was very poor; Barron not very great, as you would easily imagine. It is admitted in the House that my speech is altogether unanswered. In fact I took grounds of fact and history, to which there could not be any reply save dissenting from the question, and sophisticating on other facts or figures. The entire question, as debated, turns on these *two points*: First, did Ireland prosper after 1782 under her own parliament? The Government say, No. Has she prospered since the Union? The Government say, Yes.

You, therefore, see at once how compleatly triumphant our case is with the People of Ireland. But I sat down principally to bid you be of good cheer. You may see in the *Morning Herald* of this day the admission that my speech was *very dexterous for its purposes*. I hope you will agree when you see the correct report. At all events, I can confidently assert it was totally unanswered.

See Barrett and tell him I will write to him to-morrow and give him 'private correspondence'⁵ regularly in future. This fact is not to be communicated to any body but to Barrett himself.

Again I repeat that we Repealers have made great *moral* way in the opinion of the House. The members in their private conversations have but one opinion on the subject.

In the meantime, the discontents in this country are accumulating. The agricultural distress, and the disaffection amongst the operatives, give them matter to think of at home.

Hurrah for the Repeal!

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

On April 29, 1834, the debate on Repeal was brought to a close by a speech of Spring Rice, packed with figures, which consumed six hours in the delivery. On a division not more than forty votes supported O'Connell, while the

⁵ For his newspaper.

adverse pronouncement amounted to 523. O'Connell's oration, though not one of his best, had many admirers, and the journals of the day record its praises both in prose and verse.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 29th April, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . We close the debate this night. I do not think we shall have one single English member with us.⁶ Yet I congratulate you and the country on the result. Six days' debate on a question which we were told would be overwhelmed at once, and the result of the engagement, stripped of extraneous matter, decidedly with us. It indeed turns upon the single fact, whether or not Ireland has prospered by or since the Union. Rice *figures* Ireland into Prosperity. Is Ireland prosperous? Whoever thinks not refutes Rice's entire case and that of the Unionists. Whoever says 'Yes' gives Rice the victory.

This in one line is the state of the argument. I need not say how triumphant, alas! does the real misery of Ireland render our case.—In haste,

Yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The election of Ebenezer Jacob for Dungarvan having been declared void on petition a new writ was issued.

To John Dower, Dungarvan.

London: 1st May, 1834.

My dear Sir,—I know your regard for me, and I am truly grateful for it. All I will say to you is, that if you wish me to continue my political life, nay, if you value my personal health and peace of mind, you will return me and Jacob again for Dungarvan. I won't say more to you save this, that if he be again returned, look to me for the performance, according to your own *interpretation*, of the promise we made you. Nay, whether he be returned or not, I

⁶ One English member did vote for O'Connell's motion.

take the thing on myself between you and me; and I now pledge myself to you unequivocally that you shall be satisfied in any event.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Another close contest followed. Jacob polled 293, and Barron 269 votes. A long letter from Dower to O'Connell, dated 1839, claims the redemption of his promise, the more so 'because he had been ruined in his business as a brewer by the temperance movement of Father Mathew.' The sum he claimed was £350.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 7th May, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—See Reynolds⁷ for me, and beg of him not to agitate for a Repeal meeting for the present. This is a critical moment, and I am endeavouring to make the most of it for Ireland. Either the Ministry will concede to me the Tithe question or they will not. If so, I lighten the burthen of Tithes three-fifths, and procure a share of the fund for Hospitals, Infirmaries, Dispensaries, and Glebes. If, on the contrary, no concession is made, then I will be able to recommence the Repeal agitation with tenfold force after having given this fair and fortunate trial to the British Parliament.

You must not suppose that there is the least relaxation in my opinions on the subject of the Repeal. My conviction

⁷ Thomas Reynolds, a popular orator of local fame, and appointed, later on, City Marshal. One heavy care depressed him through life—he was the namesake of the base informer of 'Ninety Eight!' At a national meeting held in the Coburg Gardens—now the grounds of Sir E. Cecil Guinness—he opposed a band of riotous Orangemen who sought to scatter confusion in the camp. For this he was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, but when four had elapsed Lord Mulgrave set him free. The trouble in which Reynolds involved himself the penetrating eye of O'Connell foresaw.

John Reynolds, afterwards M.P. for Dublin, to whom allusion is also occasionally made in these letters, was the brother of Tom. His face was the reverse of prepossessing. On the return from transportation of Smith O'Brien and other patriots of '48, Mr. Donegan, a popular silversmith, presented them with gold watches suitably inscribed. Reynolds, who was then Lord Mayor, represented to Donegan that he had done as much for Ireland as any of these men and also deserved a watch. In reply he was told that when *he* returned from penal servitude his claim would be considered.

on that subject is really unalterable, but I will get *what I can* and use the Repeal *in terrorem* merely until it is wise and necessary to recommence the agitation. It is quite discreet not to give the Ministry any excuse for further coercive measures, or for continuing any part of the Coercion Bill. The House of Commons would be ready enough to do anything against Ireland which the Ministry may ask. I will not give them any excuse. I will seek for practical benefits for Ireland in a tone and temper beyond reproach, and until the Session terminates I will not give the Ministers the least excuse for Algerine laws of any description. I will not publish my 'Hereditary bondsmen' letter until the Tithe Bill is decided. Lord John Russell was manly and determined last night, and there are reasons to believe that I shall contribute to a great 'Tithe revolution' even before this Session closes. It is curious that I should, in spite of me, feel sorry that the Ministry should have the grace to yield to my demand; but even so, it would perhaps strengthen the Repeal demand by lessening the number of those who now oppose it from interested or bigoted motives. I must conclude. Take care that this letter does not get into print.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

'The arrival of this letter,' writes P. V. FitzPatrick in a note attached to it, 'prevented the publication of a formidable requisition for a meeting to renew the Repeal agitation. The requisition was actually in type, but the subscribers deferred at once to O'Connell's recommendation.'

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

London: 8th May, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write merely to say that you should see my friend Reynolds⁸ as speedily as possible, and

⁸ This letter, though marked 'Private,' may have been written in order to be shown to Reynolds. It will be seen from O'Connell's letters of June 19 and 22, 1833, and of January 26, 1841, that he

regarded this clever orator with scant esteem, but in point of fact every popular leader who failed to yield implicit obedience to O'Connell incurred his censure.

give him in strict confidence my most anxious advice not to call any meeting *directly* or *indirectly* on the subject of the Repeal for some weeks. He is not a man to yield to mere authority, although I do believe he has some confidence in me, but he will yield to a just and sound reason. Now that reason is, that the parliament are ready to enact any Law, however atrocious, to meet Repeal agitation. My game therefore is, and it ought to be that of every sound Repealer, to suspend any demonstration on our part until the Session shall be so far advanced as not to leave time for any other Coercion Bill. Reynolds will see that I am not only taking this view, but am actively engaged in looking for practical relief in the most *temperate* way from *this* parliament for Ireland. If, while I take this line on the one hand and Ireland is silent on the other, any further coercive attempt is made, see on what strong grounds I shall be able to oppose it, and what a repeal reawaking speech I shall be able to make in that opposition! Put this view before Reynolds and other honest Repealers, and I think they will be likely to concur with me in a short postponement of any meeting. I am working the Tythe question *well*. You have no idea, and I *cannot* tell you how far I have proceeded towards success. A Repeal meeting may *at present* thwart my purposes. I want either to get solid advantages for Ireland or to shew that quietness, humility of deportment and irresistible argument are all put aside by the fell genius of despotic domination over our miserable country. You see what I gain in the one case, and also in the other. Implore, then, of Reynolds and of the other honest Repealers to allow my experiment its full development. He may depend on it that the cause of Repeal will not, and *shall not*, suffer by a short postponement of *direct* agitation.

The Ministry is greatly *staggered* on the Tithe question. This is their time to make a great experiment for Ireland, but they will let it pass—and *then*— Hurrah for Repeal!

In short, Reynolds will understand my plan, and, I *believe*, act upon it.

You will take care not to allow this letter to get into the newspapers.

For myself, I am in perfect health and spirits, blessed be God! Now I laugh at the chuckling triumph of our silly and mercenary Irish Unionists. Poor creatures! they are like the Indian savages who occasionally in dark nights fear that the sun is extinguished for ever and will never rise again. Nabobish!! But do all you can to allow me to play off in full light the falsehood of the promise in the address to the King to remove all just subjects of complaint in Ireland. It is of precious importance that I should not be interrupted in that part of *my duty*.

How does Barrett bear his imprisonment?

Yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 10th May, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Magee's memorial has not as yet been transmitted. I intended to have looked particularly to it so soon as the Repeal question terminated for this Session. But although the Duke of Richmond did not resign, yet he was 'a screw loose' for some time, and no prospect could be held out of particular attention to any thing exclusively Irish. The moment a new postmaster-general is appointed I will, you may be sure, attend particularly to that memorial, and if either Lords Durham or Radnor be appointed the thing shall be done.

As to Wexford, Sir Thomas Esmonde declines, although I urged him in the strongest manner. I wish you would at once see my friend John Power, and get him to consent to stand, either himself or his son.⁹ I urged Nich. FitzSimon strongly on this point. But do you get a decision from the father at once. If either Power stands then we will commence our canvass at once. If they refuse, suggest Sharman Crawford¹ from me. He should not get a public invitation

⁹ The son was elected and became Sir James Power, Bart.

¹ The father of Tenant Right.

until we had sounded the constituency and were able to promise his return. I will write this day or to-morrow to an influential ecclesiastic, who will tell me how the land lies.

Call on my friend Jeremiah Dunne and consult with him as to Kildare. Tell him my plan would be to support O'Farrell² if there had been a real concession made to Ireland on the Tithe question, but that is not the case. On the contrary, the Bill is to be *very, very bad*, even with all its changes. And again, there is no pledge against renewing the Coercion Bill, so that under existing circumstances I believe Mr. O'Farrell will not resign his seat; but if he do resign his seat by accepting office I cannot see how it is possible for the friends of Ireland not to oppose him. At least my inclination would be, under such circumstances, to give him all the opposition in my power. It turns on this: Will the Ministry do anything *substantial* for Ireland? Will they declare that they will not do something more *against* Ireland? Unless we get a security, or rather securities, of these descriptions I am for opposing every man connected with the present Ministry. I will do so reluctantly as regards O'Farrell, who has some good points about him, and would be better if he were not mixed up with the unsavory Cloncurry Clique-*een*, which, you *know*, is the diminutive of Clique.³

Yours very truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Monday, May 19, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,— . . . Tell Barrett there is no news. A strong party making up to compel the Ministry to yield to some common sense measures for Ireland; but it is believed that Lord Grey is personally too hostile to our unhappy country to accede to anything substantially useful. In the meantime, I am apt to think that the King is getting

² Mr. More O'Farrell. (See pp. 439-441.)

³ The patriot peer Cloncurry sacrificed his popularity by becoming the confidant of Lord Anglesey, in

whose good intentions he was a thorough believer. (See *Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry*. Dublin: 1849.)

too mad to be any longer—or at least much longer—under control. It is said that he lately reviewed a regiment of the Guards more than once on the same day. Other stories are told of at least an equally equivocal character. But this is a subject which must, if at all, be touched on with the greatest delicacy, and an expression of deep regret. It would not be right to allude to insanity at all, or to talk of anything but the King's health not being as satisfactory as could be desired.

But all this is matter of great delicacy. It may, however, be right to have the public soon become acquainted with a distinct idea of the real fact. However, *not* for the present. In short, let Barrett use a cautious discretion.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The death this year of Earl Spencer and the removal of Althorp to the House of Lords as his successor afforded to William IV. an opportunity for dismissing his Ministers. Sir Robert Peel formed a Government which remained in office only to April 8, 1835. O'Connell's foresight proved sound: Peel was driven from office by a division on the Tithe question, the voting being 285 to 258. But these remarks somewhat anticipate.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Confidential.)

London: 22nd May, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—We are in such a state of suspense that I do not know how to write. My Tithe plan is shaking the Cabinet. But there is so much rascality towards Ireland that they will make up between themselves in order to combine against us. I expect nothing from them but the most distinct proof of the necessity of renewing the Repeal cry, a renewal which is indeed inevitable, but must be postponed as long as possible, so as to take away all excuse from our enemies.

Tell Croker and Codd,⁴ with my compliments, that it is impossible to get at the evidence before Sir H. Parnell until Lord Althorp develops that mystical plan which he

⁴ See pp. 362 *et seq.*

promised at the beginning of the Session, by which Ireland was, or is, to be relieved of much of the burthens without any diminution in what she pays in revenue. As soon, therefore, as possible I will endeavour to procure the evidence they wish for, if it ever be possible.

I am to have the Ministerial determination, they say, on Saturday. No stone has been left unturned to arrange the Tithe question satisfactorily to the people. But I must conclude.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Four members of the Government resigned on the question of the appropriation of the funds of the Irish Church to any but ecclesiastical purposes. These were the Duke of Richmond, Postmaster-General; Lord Ripon, Privy Seal; Mr. Stanley, Colonial Secretary; and Sir J. Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty. The places thus vacated were promptly filled by the Marquis Conyngham, Lord Carlisle, Spring Rice, and Lord Auckland.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 29th May, 34.

My dear FitzPatrick,—This is a moment when one should write, if it were only to say that there are no news. I cannot exactly say *that*, but yet there are but few facts actually known. It is, however, quite certain that the alteration in the Cabinet will be all in favour of popular freedom. It is not known how far the changes are likely to extend, but it is beyond any doubt that Lord Grey has the absolute power to appoint to the vacancies. The four Cabinet ministers named yesterday in the papers are the only persons whose resignations are accepted. Doubts are entertained whether Lord Lansdowne will remain. On the other hand, *no new appointment* has as yet been made. But I think I may assure you that Mr. Abercrombie, who was agent in chief to the Duke of Devonshire, is to be *in the new Cabinet*. This is most propitious for Ireland. He voted against the Coercion Bill, and is a man with whom

one could have confidential communications. He thinks with me on the Tythe question, and, in short, he is the Cabinet minister who would be most useful to the people of Ireland. Stanley is irrevocably gone in public opinion, and Sir James Graham is looked on as a political goose of the most foolish class. It is well to have the worst part of the Government thrown overboard.

As to myself, I have nothing new to tell you. Indeed, you are quite aware that I look for measures only. I would not, and indeed could not, do anything which may by any possibility implicate me with any party save one determined to do *full justice* to Ireland. However, we shall see by the end of the next forty-eight hours what is to be. I must conclude. Be of good cheer.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 30th May, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—News, *unimportant* news that is, for the present. There never was a mountain in labour produced a more ridiculous mouse. Only think, with unlimited power to select an efficient Cabinet, Lords Grey and Brougham have taken pains to strike ‘the brains’ out of the Ministry, and to substitute figures of straw—what Cobbett calls *Thee-boys*—to frighten away the crows from corn. They have not selected any one man of talent. In addition to their former gang, Lord Auckland and Lord Carlisle get seats in the Cabinet. So does Ellice, the only national man in it. Spring Rice goes to the Colonies if he can be returned again. He has gone down to canvass. Poulet Thompson succeeds Lord Auckland as actual president of the Board of Trade—that is, if the people of Manchester will return him again. The only one Irish man consulted was More O’Farrell; he is to be a Lord of the Treasury. When I last knew Kildare it would have been hard for him to secure an election, although quite sure he did right to accept office, as his holding it is a brain blow to that

Orange party which poor Lord Anglesey raised to a new vitality in Ireland. This Cabinet has come upon us by surprise. It is full of foolishness and drivelling. It will require new hands as well as heads and hearts to keep Lord Grey in power; but there is this advantage, that they must, even by reason of their weakness, adopt useful measures. The temporalities of the Established Church in Ireland will get a sweeping blow on Monday.

Ward's motion will be carried by an immense majority, and the future arrangements of the Tithe Bill will be liable to salutary alteration. It is no small comfort that Stanley is *hors de combat*. He was the worst of the bad in everything which relates to Ireland. It is no small matter to have him removed from the Government.⁵ Only think of that High Churchman, Lord Plunket, continuing in office after the present attack on the Church! but the money-pot retains him. It is clear that we are on the road to further changes, and that they must be in the direction of the popular cause. At all events, the ascendancy party in Ireland has received a warning such as precedes inevitable dissolution. Oh, how I crow over the spring which the Ministers are giving to *the Repeal!*

They are annihilating the opposition to it which was alone formidable—that of the Clerical and Protestant party in Ireland. If I had hired them expressly to play the game of the Repealers they would not do it half so well. They

⁵ In 1833 Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, passed the Church Temporalities Bill; but in 1834, alarmed at Melbourne's scheme for a more sweeping measure of Church Reform, he withdrew from office, carrying with him the Duke of Richmond, Lord Ripon, and Sir James Graham. O'Connell raised a hearty laugh during a Parliamentary debate, by his application of Canning's lines:

'So down thy Hill, romantic Ashburne, glides,
The Derby Dilly, carrying *Three*
Insides.'

Fagan's *Life of O'Connell* (ii. 346) quotes this as '*six insides*,' and tries to account for the number by enumerating six comparatively obscure followers; but 'three' is the coincident number mentioned in Canning's *Loves of the Triangles*; and the above version of the three statesmen whom Stanley carried with him I have taken from the sketch, revised by himself, in *Men of the Time* for 1865. Lord Derby adds that he declined to take part in the Ministry formed by Peel on Grey's resignation, but continued to act with the Conservative opposition.

are disgusting and scattering the Orange party, and they have not manliness to do substantial justice to the people at large.

Hurrah for the Repeal!

Of course I will not disturb the present calm until we have the Appropriation Clause secured, and so long as there is a prospect of carrying into effect my Tithe scheme. Again I tell you to be of good cheer.

Believe me always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 3rd June, 1834.

. . . I sincerely regret the death of my excellent and worthy old friend Andrew Ennis.⁶ I wanted to have him to be Lord Mayor of Dublin. May the great God be merciful to him!

The Ministry is, as you perceive, quite unformed. All that is certain is that the Tories cannot come in, and that Stanley has extinguished himself as a public man. The world will never go back to him, and he cannot advance to the state of the public mind. I do not believe that More O'Farrell will accept office.⁷ I believe he is afraid of his county. You perceive that I am still playing the proper game of conciliation, but you will easily believe that I have not in thought, word, or deed abandoned 'the Repeal,' though I am endeavouring to do two things: first, to get all I can for Ireland in the interval; secondly, to cherish the hope that the Protestant faction will at length see that they can get nothing by their holding out against Ireland.

Believe me always, &c. &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁶ Father of the late Sir John Ennis, Bart.

⁷ Mr. More O'Farrell became Secretary of the Treasury under Lord Melbourne's Administration, and afterwards Lord of the Treasury,

Secretary of the Admiralty, Governor of Malta, and a member of the Privy Council. He represented Kildare from 1830 until 1847, and was again elected for that county in 1859.

*To Thomas Mooney, Dublin.*⁸

London: 13th June, 1834.

Dear Sir,—I return you the draft you sent me as a fee, simply because the matter does not come before me in legal form. There is no attorney, nor any queries requiring professional advice. If I had been required in that shape I would, of course, have given my opinion. As to the Bank to which you allude—namely, the Irish National Bank—it is about to be founded under my auspices, if they be of any use. The more banks in Ireland the better, provided they be founded on sound banking principles, and not merely got up by schemers or over-speculative persons. I have no doubt that the Irish National Bank will be successful.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 17th June, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Find out from Kildahl⁹ whether his clients have any objection to postpone the Dungarvan petition-trial till after the circuit, or, in fact, to the first day of the next Session. It would accommodate me very much, and he will tell you candidly if he intends to object. If he does not, I will get an order to that effect which I pledge myself will not, and cannot, injure his clients.

Well, this mean, dastard, rascally Administration have determined to renew the Coercion Bill! The scoundrels!!! How glad I am that I made my experiment fully upon them. So even with them we go in the House and out of the House by all possible legitimate means. Only think of their falsehood and duplicity! Ellice, a Cabinet Minister, told me that there was no such decision. I did, therefore, deem it impossible.

⁸ The National Bank was instituted at a meeting held in London on June 21, 1834. Mr. Thomas Mooney, who later on wrote a History of Ireland, was labouring at the same time to create a People's

Bank, and consulted O'Connell on the subject.

⁹ A well-known name in Dublin. See *Life of Charles Lever*, new ed., p. 216.

Put this advertisement into the *Pilot*:—

‘Preparing for publication: The Speech of Daniel O’Connell on the Repeal of the Union, reported by William MacCabe, Esq., and corrected by Mr. O’Connell himself, to which is prefixed an Address to the Irish Nation by Daniel O’Connell.’

I will set about preparing it without delay. I have begun and will proceed with ‘the Repeal.’ My experiment has been perfectly successful. I have shewn that the most energetic anxiety to conciliate the British Government and British Parliament is totally useless. We humbly ask for bread; they give us a stone. Well, can there be one wretch so base found as to consent to wait longer before he becomes a Repealer?

You perceive I am angry. I am so, but I am not, therefore, devoid of hope. On the contrary, my hopes are only the higher because of this flagrant violation of every principle of justice and policy.

See Barrett. I will write to him to-morrow. But in the mean time you must ascertain the day on which he is entitled to his liberation.

Pay his fine. Have his sureties passed before the day arrives. You must not put him to the trouble of getting more sureties. You *must* get them in my name; and surely some of my friends won’t hesitate? It is only surety to *keep the peace*, and a libel has been decided not to be a *breach of the peace*, so that there is no real danger. Let everything be prepared, so that Barrett may be out the first possible moment. I will preside, as soon as I arrive, at a public dinner to him, as ‘the first martyr to Repeal.’ In haste,

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O’CONNELL.

William Bernard MacCabe, who of late had come into high favour with the *Liberator*, and finally wrote a touching narrative, entitled ‘The Last Days of O’Connell,’ had occupied for some time a downright hostile attitude towards him. It was O’Connell’s fate to be often involved in warfare with the

Press. MacCabe led the revolt of the Dublin reporters in 1831, and how it came about remains to be told. A leading member of that body, yeleft Nolan, had changed his name, religion, and politics, and gave to the Government the benefit of his services in reporting O'Connell and afterwards deposing to his words and acts. Irritated that an Irish reporter should be the instrument of his prosecution, O'Connell referred in bitter terms to the whole body. They held a meeting, with MacCabe in the chair, and resolved to report him no more. At a subsequent political meeting the stenographers, after taking down the speeches of several orators, dropped their pens and folded their arms the moment O'Connell rose. Fixing his eye upon the quondam Nolan, but who now rejoiced in the name of Elrington, O'Connell exclaimed: 'What! am I, who have fluttered the Ministry in the Cabinet, to be nibbled at by mice?' 'Do you mean to call me a mouse, sir?' asked Elrington, starting to his feet. 'I could not be guilty of such a misnomer,' was the reply. 'Everybody knows that you are a big rat!' Amid the laughter which this hit evoked, the quarrel, which had promised to be a 'mighty pretty one,' cooled down, and in a few days the Irish reporters resumed their work. Indeed, one of the body amused himself by putting the incident into rhyme:—

'Tis I that can tell about Kerry,
 And talk of the Lakes of Killarney;
 'Tis I that can make the boys merry,
 And bother the ladies with 'Blarney.'

Yet I who have bearded Judge Downes,
 And Saurin put down in a trice;
 Oh! thunder and big blood and 'ouns,
 Shall I be put down by the 'Mice'?

In 1838 the war with the Dublin reporters was renewed. They protested against being obliged to report O'Connell's speeches on Sundays, unless when delivered within four miles of the metropolis. O'Connell, in a caustic philippic, described them as 'those gentlemen with geographical consciences.'¹

The following letter will be recognised as embodying an intimation conveyed to O'Connell by the Irish Government.

¹ Communicated by Daniel MacIllwee, the Nestor of the Irish reporters.

This, on transpiring, raised a storm which shook the Administration:—

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Confidential.)

London: 24th June, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have great pleasure in telling you that no part of the Coercion Bill is to be renewed, but that which relates to ‘Predial Agitation,’ and even from that everything unconstitutional is to be omitted. We must therefore soon bethink ourselves of returning to Dublin, and of arranging for political agitation. But this must not appear in *any* newspaper.

If it be necessary for you to go down to Wexford, do you go down at once and secure me ‘a Repealer.’ It is essential to the liberties of Ireland that we should *thence* get an honest advocate of Repeal.

A vacancy had arisen in the representation of Wexford, owing to Mr. Shapland Carew being created a Peer, and two candidates were now in the field, one a supporter of Grey, the other a disciple of ‘Dan.’ At this juncture Littleton expressed a wish to see O’Connell at the Irish Office. The summons was promptly obeyed. Littleton opened the subject by referring to a public letter which the Agitator had addressed to the people of Wexford urging them to plump for the Repealer. He assured O’Connell that the Irish Government strongly deprecated a renewal of the Coercion Act, though a short Bill to check the secret confederacy of *Whitefeet* might be brought in, and he felt it right to communicate the fact to ‘the one only person’ in the Irish popular party in whom that confidence should be reposed. The Viceroy Wellesley, though at first for renewing the Coercion Act, was now against it, and in this view he had been quietly encouraged by Althorp.² Little-

² An explanation from Althorp appears in *The Times* of July 10, 1834. ‘I am bound to say, in my own justification, that I begged my right honourable friend to use extreme caution in his communication, and by no means to commit himself in what he said. Inspired by these words a contemporary bard threw

off some pleasant verses, of which a few are subjoined:—

‘Go forth!—go forth!—beloved friend!’

(He said—and pressed his hand),
‘And bid the conflagration end,
And quench the traitor’s brand;
Too long we’ve tried the feeble law
To stay him in his path—

ton ended by an assurance that if, perchance, any attempt were made to renew the obnoxious Act, certainly it would not be brought in by *him*. A letter, heaping odium on the Whigs, and addressed to the Reformers of England, was at that moment in type. O'Connell not only cancelled this letter, but consented to open Wexford to the Government by withdrawing his nominee. He hated Whitefeet and Moonlighters, and he undertook to say that the Irish members whom he led would aid any measure tending to restrain crime. Ten days had elapsed when Littleton, much agitated, sought O'Connell, to say that the Cabinet had decided on renewing the Coercion Act in all its terrors. O'Connell, feeling that he had been deceived, told Littleton with warmth that, after what had passed, no other course was now open to the Chief Secretary but to resign.

As frequent but ambiguous reference is made in succeeding letters to a triumph which O'Connell claims to have obtained over Mr. Littleton in debate, some explanation is called for, especially as the published lives of O'Connell ignore the incident. On such points the journals of the day are the best authority. The following passage of arms introduces quite a gladiatorial struggle:—

Mr. O'Connell: 'Seeing the right hon. Secretary for Ireland in his place, I wish to know from him whether the statement in the newspapers is true, that the renewal of the Coercion Bill in its present shape is called for by the Irish Government—that is to say, by the Lord Lieutenant and by the right hon. gentleman?'

Mr. Littleton: 'I apprehend that it is not a matter of course to reply to such a question, which refers to a Bill yet to come before this House; but I have no difficulty in saying that the introduction of the Coercion Bill has the entire sanction of the Irish Government.'

Mr. O'Connell: 'That is not an answer, nor anything like an answer to my question, which was, whether the

We cannot break the tiger's jaw,
But we must sooth his wrath:
He snaps the chain—he breaks the
spear,
As children break our delf—
But, oh! be cautious, Edward dear
And don't commit yourself.
Tell him we only wish to bind
The peasant and the boor—
Tell him we only mean to grind

The pow'rless and the poor;
Tell him we never meant to stay
His step upon the hill—
Tell him we wish them all to pay
His righteous 'tribute' still:
Tell him that *he* by night, or day,
May roam like any elf—
But, oh! be cautious what you say,
And don't commit yourself.'

Bill had been called for or directed by the Irish Government?'

Mr. Littleton: 'I can give no other answer.'

Mr. O'Connell: 'That is an exceedingly safe course. I will further inquire, then, whether it is the intention of the right hon. gentleman to bring forward the measure here?'

Mr. Littleton: 'That is a question that cannot yet arise. When the proper time arrives, it will be for the Government to decide as to its introduction here. I can tell the hon. gentleman, however, that whoever may bring the Bill in, I shall vote for it.' (Hear.)

Mr. O'Connell: 'Then I can only say that the right hon. gentleman has exceedingly deceived me.'

Littleton, thus 'cornered,' threw aside all reserve. 'I have a plain unvarnished tale to unfold,' he said, 'and the result, as far as I am concerned, may be that I shall be accused of gross indiscretion.'

Both men were skilled debaters; strokes fell thick and heavy; but a full report, however amusing, cannot be obtruded here. 'Hansard,' Lord Hatherton's 'Memoirs,' and Lord Brougham's 'Autobiography' are good helps in arriving at an historic knowledge of the facts. Grey, as Lord Campbell says, 'had a childish dislike of O'Connell';³ but Littleton, who was the son-in-law of Wellesley, saw the importance of enlisting him on the side of the Government.

Littleton in the end resigned. Grey brought forward the Coercion Act, bristling with all the terrors of its intolerable severity. Althorp, who never liked it, sent in his resignation. O'Connell brought the question, as regarded the views of the Irish Government, to an issue, by moving for the production of the correspondence between Wellesley and the Ministry in reference to the proposed renewal of the Bill; but this was refused by Littleton. The Premier, feeling the embarrassing position in which he now stood, also resigned. The negotiation with O'Connell was, he declared, wholly without his knowledge. So much for this business, which the biographers of O'Connell ignore. Mr. Fagan, M.P., his kinsman, casually notices it, no doubt, but merely with the words, 'A squabble with Mr. Littleton about the merest trifle.'⁴

³ *Life of Lord Campbell*, vol. ii. p. 49.

⁴ *Fagan's Life and Times of O'Connell*, vol. ii. p. 311.

CHAPTER XII.

A Note of Triumph—The Banking Scheme—Cadwallader Waddy—Barrett liberated—A Plan to unite all sections of Irishmen—The Agricultural Bank—Stanley of Alderley—Dublin Castle swept clean of Orangeism—Jubilee—The Coercion Bill as renewed—Letters intercepted—Cahircon—Effort to eject Blackburne fails—At Oxford—Poor Laws for Ireland—Letters to Lord Duncannon—Lord Durham—Judge Crampton and the Bribe—Sir M. O'Loughlen—Baron Greene—Judge Perrin—A grave Indictment—A Dilemma—Robert Holmes—O'Connell saves a man from the Scaffold—The Monks of La Trappe—Houses of Parliament burned—Barrett's abstracted Mind—Ludicrous Scene—Downfall of the Melbourne Ministry—Peel and Wellington again—Orange Orgies—Lord Haddington Viceroy—'G. P. O.'—Joseph Hume—William Cobbett—Attwood—Charles Phillips again—An Intrigue at Rome foiled—A Struggle for the Speaker's Chair—A Bad Fall for the Tories—'Victory! Victory!'—Mr. Abercromby—Peel beaten—Terms with the Whigs—Correspondence with the Home Secretary—William Ford—Joe Hume—Lord Kenmare—O'Connell suffers 'Mental Agony'—'A Ray of Hope'—Ronayne and the Pikes.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 8th July, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—It is half an age since I wrote to you, but it has been, as you may perceive, to me a period of turmoil and battle. I have the pleasure to tell you that my triumph over Littleton is admitted to be complete. Indeed, no man ever got so complete a fall as that unworthy gentleman.¹ In addition to all this we have the final triumph of Jacob over Galwey and Barron, and his being fixed for Dungarvan.² To crown all comes the Wex-

¹ Lord Hatherton wrote a memoir of the affair, which was published by Mr. Longman in 1872.

² See the letters with which Chapter XI. begins; especially letter of Feb. 17, 1834.

Galwey's brother became a stipendiary magistrate, and afterwards held an official post in Dublin Castle.

From the turmoil of battle it is pleasant to turn to brighter traits in the combatants. Pierce George Barron was famous for his power of convivial indulgence. On being appointed to a resident magistracy in Mayo he found a genial neighbour in Joseph Miles McDonnell of Doo Castle, also celebrated in the

ford victory: the victory of the honest and true men of Wexford.³

There has also been a bye-battle upon the subject of a new bank. This has been for a great while a subject of anxious speculation with me. I have sensibly felt the want of a counter-check to the rascality of the Bank of Ireland and of the Provincial Bank. You know that they play into the hands of the Anti-Irish party. I want a *mutual friend* at the other side.⁴

My plan has been, and is, to get *one million* subscribed in London. Until that is done no operations are to take place in Ireland. The million here is to be in aid of Irish subscriptions. Whenever a sum large enough to establish a branch bank in any locality is subscribed the London managers will double the amount.

Of course we will require the utmost circumspection and vigilance, and it is of course that if we succeed it will be my anxious study that you, your brother and brother-in-law, should participate in that success. Of this we will talk when the time approaches. There will be a bill of mine for £300 due the 27th inst. to Burke of Cork. He will renew any part of it you choose. I long to hear of Barrett's liberation, and though I should be glad to save

same line. A bet was made as to which should out-drink the other. A number of boon companions assembled to witness the feat, all of whom gradually dropped away as morning approached; but one man having returned for his snuff-box, which he had inadvertently left behind, a striking tableau met his eye: McDonnell's foot rested on Barron's prostrate body, while the right arm of the victor triumphantly held aloft a bumper of whisky punch.

³ A vacancy occurred in the representation of Wexford county by Shapland Carew being created a peer. Maurice O'Connell writes to Fitz-Patrick on June 25, 1834:—'My father desires me say that sooner than have no Repealer, Waddy

should be supported for the County Wexford.' Waddy, however, held the seat for merely a few months, having been succeeded in 1835 by Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Power.

⁴ O'Connell was the father of 'The National Bank.' For many years it was familiarly known as 'O'Connell's Bank.' His colleagues now recognised the somewhat anomalous character of his position. Three years before he had urged a run on the banks for gold. It was now felt that a man leading the masses in a struggle to grasp their rights should be free from the responsibilities of a monetary system, of which the great principle is to leave things as they are and avoid the risks attendant on social disturbance.

my £100, yet I would prefer that Barrett should not be under any compliment to that 'old foozle' of a scoundrel.

I have no news to tell you. Let the *Pilot* never publish a letter of mine until it has gone the round of other papers. . . .

To Richard Barrett.

London: Friday [July, 1834].

My dear Barrett,—I write to congratulate you on your regaining your liberty; to thank you for having sacrificed that Liberty to me. Believe me, I never can forget the generosity and the firmness with which you made that sacrifice, nor shall it ever be less kindly felt until I have an opportunity—if I ever have an opportunity—of proving my gratitude by deeds, not by words.

There is little to be known as yet,⁵ and still, before the post goes out, something will be *half decided*. It is sufficiently clear that neither Melbourne nor Brougham, nor both together, can make a Ministry. It is also quite certain that the present parliament will not endure a Tory Administration; and as to a dissolution, the most favourable view of its result would not give the Tories more than 200 members of the House of Commons, and with such a force—not one third of the House—it would be impossible to carry on the government.

The King wished Lord Melbourne to make up an Administration consisting of Brougham, Stanley, and Peel, with their adherents, but he has been distinctly informed 'that it was impossible.' It is now said that he sent for Peel. I cannot vouch for the truth, but I am quite sure Peel cannot venture to form a Cabinet. If it were to be formed it should be so simply on the principle '*that the Irish Church should be preserved in all its integrity of wealth and influence,*' and this principle would be an exceedingly dangerous one to stand on as a ground for hoping a successful result in the event of a dissolution of Parliament. It must also be recollected that the Appropriation Bills have not as yet been passed, so that a Tory Administration

⁵ Lord Grey had announced his resignation on July 9.

would be totally unable to go on until there was a new parliament.

Upon the whole, my own opinion is, that there will be no Ministry save one under the auspices of Lord Althorp, founded on much more liberal principles than the last. But even if the Tories came in they could not stand three months, and their discomfiture would give a still more Liberal Government.

In the mean time it is quite certain that the dexterity with which the Ministry endeavoured to deceive me has been their ruin. It was I, in fact, that turned out the Administration. I get this credit from every body; and if the next be not better we will turn that out also. From the moment Littleton told me that Lord Wellesley and he himself were adverse to the Coercion Bill, the game was in my hands if I did not throw it away. Unless I gave personal cause to alter their determination, they could not possibly carry a Bill which on the 20th of June they communicated to me was in their judgment unnecessary. My victory is therefore admitted by every body to be complete, and its ultimate results will, I think, be eminently useful to Ireland. We are on the way from a half Whig, half Tory Government to one half Radical, half Whig, without the slightest admixture of Toryism.⁶ The moment such a Ministry is formed there will be a famous *turning off* in Ireland. The Attorney-General⁷ will certainly be dismissed, and the entire Orange clique will go with him.

There is a powerfully signed address from members of Parliament to Lord Althorp to encourage him to undertake the office of Prime Minister. If he did so all would be well. He would take care to remove the Orangeists from power in Ireland, and it would be the most severe blow that faction ever got to have a Premier decided in his opposition to the continuance of unnecessary tithes; and, in short, to the whole system of misrule in Ireland. Besides, it was first Stanley and then Lord Grey who were the prominent supporters of the Orange faction in Ireland; Stanley from

⁶ A true prophecy.

⁷ Mr. Francis Blackburne.

his own natural virulence and bigotry, and poor old Lord Grey from his foolish and envenomed prejudice against every thing Irish. We should be in the highest spirits. It can only operate for good to the people of Ireland.

Ever faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

6 o'clock.—No further news ; it is not true that the King sent for Peel. I myself believe that Lord Althorp will have the formation of the Cabinet.

Lord Althorp succeeded in the ensuing autumn to the Earldom of Spencer, and thenceforth his attention was given rather to agriculture than to statesmanship.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 16th July, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I enclose you a document which I wish you to copy, and then give the original to Sheehan⁸ to read. Leave it with him if he asks you, but preserve the copy. I have thought this the best time to recommence a treaty for a reconciliation between Irishmen. If the Orange party be not quite blind they must see that they have not the slightest chance of returning into power: their day as a dominant party is at an end, and if they knew the proper time to make a satisfactory arrangement with their countrymen for obtaining the restoration of the Irish parliament they would see that this is the critical moment. It would probably have been too soon some time ago. It will, I fear, shortly be too late. Indeed, my own opinion is fast forming that it is not possible to conciliate the Orangeists. But I feel it a duty to try. Tell Sheehan candidly what my notions on this subject are—that there are too many truculent persons of his party to expect that common sense or even a common interest should be available to produce a community of exertion. No, the Orangeists have been too long masters to expect that for the present generation they should submit willingly

⁸ The Orange editor of the *Dublin Mail*.

to an equality of rights; and yet they must submit perforce, for the Government of this country is now too democratic to allow the Irish ascendancy to remain in power any longer.

I write so fully⁹ to Barrett that I will say no more but that I am, in great spirits,

I may just give *you* a summary.

1st. Ministry all arranged.

2d. Lord Duncannon *Home* Department.

3d. Lord Wellesley remains.

4. Hobhouse, Woods and Forests.

5th. Decided change in the underlings in Ireland.

The following is the document which O'Connell wished FitzPatrick to submit to Sheehan, the Orange journalist:—

Basis of an Arrangement to combine Persons of all Persuasions¹ in Ireland in Defence of their Common Country, and for the Repeal of the Union.

1st. Every thing to be done by and on the part of Catholics to secure to the fullest extent the rights and properties of the Protestants, upon the footing of perfect and perpetual equality.

2d. The Protestants to suggest all such measures as they may deem necessary or useful to carry the first proposition into effect.

3d. All Ribbon associations to be put down and prohibited by law, and the punishment for infraction of such law to be summary, and sufficient to ensure its being effectual.

4th. The Orange institution to be dissolved so soon as it was certain that all Ribbon societies were suppressed.

5th. The vested interests of the existing incumbents of the Protestant Church to be carefully and entirely preserved.

6th. Upon the decease of each incumbent the successor to derive no support from the State.

⁹ See previous letter.

¹ See p. 457, where he says that the Treaty is at an end.

7th. Subject to vested interests, each persuasion to maintain its own clergy.

8th. The Legislature not to have power to create, restore, or endow any dominant Church. This power is taken away by the constitution of the United States.

9th. The most distinct principles to be the perfect freedom of conscience, and an equality of civil rights, for all sects and persuasions, now and for ever.

10th. Absenteeism to constitute a crime, and the expenditure in Ireland of a certain portion of the income of each landed proprietor to be enforced by Law.

Such are the principles on which I should suggest a combination of Irishmen for Ireland, preserving the allegiance to the Crown unbroken, as well as the connection with Great Britain, but seeking for domestic legislation upon the terms of similar protection and rights to all.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 17th July, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Nothing further as to the Ministry, nor is there to be. All is closed. We shall see what Lord Duncannon² will do in *clearing out* in Ireland. To this I direct my immediate attention. I will see Lord D—— as soon as possible, and if a spoke be not put in Master Blackburne's³ wheel it will not be my fault.

I have not been in the way of hearing details, but I *believe* Mr. Bonham Carter has refused the Secretaryship of Ireland. This would confirm the notion of Littleton's promotion to the Peerage.⁴ At all events we have made a distinct step in advance and left Toryism behind. You may rely on it that I will make the best use I can, for Ireland, of the present conjunction, and, if possible, pledge the *present* Ministry to a lay appropriation of any funds to be raised *in lieu* of Tithes. This, you know, will be a de-

² Afterwards Earl of Bessborough. He died in the Viceroyalty of Ireland, May 16, 1847. O'Connell died on the previous day.

³ The Attorney-General for Ireland.

⁴ Mr. Edward J. Littleton became Lord Hatherton in 1835.

claration that there shall be no more parsons paid where there are not Protestants to constitute a flock—and this will be the first great step to liberate Ireland from supporting a Church *not* of the people. . . .

I am decided for giving a public dinner to Barrett. It is merely a question of time. Do not hurry it. I ought to be in the chair; and it should be so arranged as to give a fillip to the *Pilot*.⁵ Let me know when you think it ought to be.

The reports here are that the cholera is again very violent in Dublin. Let me know without disguise the real state of things.

Since I began writing this letter I learn that Littleton is to remain in office until the close of this Session. You will see everything else which can be known in the second editions of the evening papers. It is well to be rid of Lord Grey as Premier, he never would consent to do any good to Ireland.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 19th July, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—. . . The papers contain all that we know. It is a bad symptom that both Lord Wellesley and Littleton remain in office.⁶ The truth is that the English Ministry cannot do justice to Ireland. I will, notwithstanding what has occurred last night, give Blackburne a *shove* yet.

The Coercion Bill, as the Ministers bring it in, is free from political defects. It will leave us to act as we please in *undisturbed* districts. That is, all political Unions can take place again. We will, I suppose, have some men silly enough to attempt to revive the 'Trades Political Union,' but if so, I certainly will oppose its revival, if it were to do me the greatest possible mischief personally to take that

⁵ Barrett's newspaper.

⁶ As Viceroy and Chief Secretary.

course. I care not, because I am convinced that Union can do nothing but mischief to the public cause.

I made a sensation last night—much greater than one could suppose from the papers.⁷ A good report, however, could be made out by mixing up that in *The Times* with that in the *Chronicle*.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 22d July, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—No news at present. The Ministry working on without much energy; but I still hope for better days and better things.

Inquire at the Chamber of Commerce whether they get regularly the parliamentary papers I send them. It is impossible at present to get them in any other way save in the name of a member, but it has the advantage that it costs them nothing.

You *must* give Barrett £50 which I got for him from Philadelphia. If he intends to come over let him come at once, as the Session draws to a close. The Coercion Bill is clear of all interference with political meetings save in 'disturbed,' that is, *proclaimed* districts. I divided against its second reading last night on account of two harsh clauses, but which relate only to disturbed districts. The Bill will be got through with all convenient speed. I have then only the Tithe Bill to detain me here. I want a couple of months in Iveragh, and then for *quiet* and *determined* agitation again. More of this hereafter.

How can D. countenance the wild scheme of 'the Agricultural' Bank, especially in that wicked humbug that it can limit individual liability? It would be a gross deception on the public even if *that* were true, because it might throw 3 millions of notes in circulation after £25 per cent. were paid up, and then, according to their notion, there would be no funds for payment of one single note.

⁷ On Lord Althorp's motion for permission to bring in a Bill to amend and renew the Coercion Act.

Hart is totally unmanageable. He has thrown away an opportunity of having a provision made for him. I cannot help him, and you may pledge yourself that I can shew that the fault is exclusively his own.

Young Stanley, of Cheshire,⁸ who is Under Secretary to Lord Duncannon, is a friend of mine, and does not participate in the politics of his namesake. He will, I think, be useful to Ireland.

I am sorry you did not communicate with Sheehan as I asked you. The time presses for my declaring that *there can be no more treaty with that IRRECONCILEABLE party*. Why, then, did you delay my communication? I do not want or care for secrecy, although I should not desire publication. If it comes, let it come from him. At the same time I would have you tell him that on our parts we bind ourselves to secrecy as long as he or his friends may desire. INDEED, I am sorry you delayed my communication.— Believe me to be,

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 26th July, 1834.

. . . I have the pleasure to tell you that at present there appears to be the strongest reasons to hope that Orangeism will be swept clean out of the Castle and its precincts. Do not let this get into the newspapers, but expect better times.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 31st July, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—

‘ And we’ll plant a laurel tree,
And we’ll call it “ Victory,”’
Said the Shan Van Vocht.⁹

You will have read with some pleasure that I have

⁸ The Right Hon. Edward J. Stanley, M.P. for North Cheshire, eldest son of Lord Stanley of Alderley, Chester. Born 1802.

⁹ *Anglicè*, the poor old woman: a rebel song composed in 1796, when the French fleet was in Bantry Bay.

achieved two victories—the first, in abolishing the claims of the parsons for *all arrears*; the second, striking off at one fell blow £268,000 a year from the tithe burthen—that is, $\frac{2}{5}$ ths of the entire—‘*pour commencer*,’ as they say at Paris. And I see no reason why more of the same dose may not be useful for the next *draft*. I think we may thus indeed wait awhile.

I want to be out of this as rapidly as I possibly can, and only await a remittance from you. I would be glad of as much as £400. If you deem it necessary, send me a stamp for the money, and I will send you my name and so raise the money, at three or four months, but I will want the £400 NET. Do not delay to let me hear from you. Write on Saturday without fail. I believe I have little cause of delay besides hearing from you. This is a good winding up of the Session. If I can help it I will go at once to Darrynane and address my constituents thence; that is, I will go by Waterford; but do not speak of this. I must close.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Barrett's dinner will do better when I come back to Dublin.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 4th August, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I got your letter this morning, shewing your usual promptitude and attention. I never was disappointed in you. The draft for £400 has come in most convenient time. I enclose you two bills on Maurice as you desire—£250 and £400. He is gone off yesterday for his father-in-law's in the County of Clare. Write to him, enclosing these bills for his acceptance. Seal the letter both with wafer and wax, so that it may not be surreptitiously opened. This precaution may be unnecessary, but must be harmless.¹

¹ O'Connell may have suspected, that warrants had been obtained by but is not likely to have then known, Lord Wellesley and Secretary Little-

If the dinner to Barrett could be effectually got up for Monday I would gladly preside at it on that day; but if you find any difficulty in getting it up *as it ought to be* in so short a period as from Wednesday, you will allow it to lie over till November, as I must leave Dublin on Tuesday. The Custom House burning² is in abeyance; that is, we are waiting for more documents, which have been promised at the Treasury, and are to decide our course. The Government offer to try the question with us on the point of whether Donlevy or Wallace were guilty of wilful neglect of duty by which any goods were lost. I confess it appears to me that, as to Donlevy, his wilful neglect is beyond any doubt. If we get a verdict on this point the Government will make good the full loss. In short, to-morrow will decide, and I certainly entertain the strongest hope that every shilling will be repaid the sufferers. I, indeed, would give up my profession for ever if an honest jury did not give me a verdict, the point appears to me so clear. It will be tried in the King's Bench in November. I am quite ready to be counsel in the cause, and in the meantime I am doing all I can in my Parliamentary function.

I entertain strong hopes still of a change of officials in Ireland.

Direct to Maurice at the house of Bindon Scott, Esq., Cahircon,³ near Kildysart, co. Clare.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

ton, at this very time, for the clandestine examination of suspected correspondence as it passed through the General Post Office, Dublin. In 1832 Lord Anglesey applied for and obtained a similar warrant, and the practice was continued under successive Governments. The mode of opening the letters was by steaming and softening the seals. These facts were brought to light in 1844 by a Parliamentary Committee of investigation. An outcry had been raised by the discovery that Mazzini's letters were opened under the auspices of Sir James Graham, when

Postmaster-General. Spring Rice, in letters to Lord Melbourne, complains that his correspondence had been tampered with by Orange clerks at the Dublin Post Office.

² *Vide* note to letter of March 7, 1834.

³ The grandly picturesque demesne of Cahircon shared, some years later, the vicissitudes that have marked the history of many similar places. On the appointment of the Hon. Charles White as Lord Lieutenant of Clare a Parliamentary outcry was raised that he owned no lands in that county. Cahircon

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 5th August, 1834.

I am sorry to tell you that I cannot leave London until we ascertain what the Lords will do with my Tithe Bill. Indeed, it has been communicated to me that it was expected that I should remain. . . .

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 6th Aug. 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I write merely to say that I have nothing to tell. I remain until it is decided whether or not the scoundrel Lords will dare to throw out or castrate *my* glorious Tithe Bill.

I succeeded last night, for the distillers, in taking off the duty from the 1st of September instead of the 10th of October.

I write from the House, and in a great hurry and in great spirits. I made two very successful speeches last night. I will write to you every day until I can set off. Ask Barrett will he come down to see a mountain hunt again before the close of this month.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Tell Barrett that *the comfort* of Darrynane is only when the Lady is there, as she intends this season.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : Friday, August 8, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I believe my plans are settled. I have fixed to go off to-morrow morning and to sleep at Oxford. *Thus* I will not be able to reach Dublin before Wednesday.

I enclose you the memorandum which Mr. Haliday gave me from the Chamber of Commerce to make up their set

happening to be in the market, place has since passed out of his
 Captain White bought it; but the hands.

of parliamentary papers. I submitted it to the Speaker, who wrote in pencil the words at foot. Lest they should be obliterated I copy them: '*If the gentlemen would name by numbers the papers they wish for I shall be ready to attend to their wishes as far as I am able.—C.M.S.*'

There is as yet no intelligence as to what the Lords will do. I have made up my mind not to trouble myself about the decision of the scoundrels. I will not vote more money to Parsons. I have done more for them than any other member, and now I leave the Ministry and the Lords to battle as they please.—In haste,

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Oxford: 9th August, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have arrived here from London this day on my way to Ireland. The fact of Barrett's dinner being postponed makes me indifferent as to going to Dublin, and the state of cholera in that town, as represented in your letter, makes me unwilling to go there. My present intention is to go by Milford and Waterford. . . .

How little you know of me, either you or Barrett, when you think that any public meeting *could* embarrass me! The fact is, the Ministry are not entitled in any shape to any support from me but such as they may merit on grounds universally public. I failed in persuading them to turn away Blackburne, and I, therefore, for the present leave them to themselves. But for me the reversions in the Crown would not have been given up. I had a hard battle for it.

Yours most truly,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Oxford: August 10th, 1834.

I have been so convinced by your letter of the unhappy state of Dublin, that, having no political business there, I

have determined to take my family by Cheltenham and Waterford. I go to Cheltenham this day. We have heard Mass here.

See Barrett, and beg of him to come down to me as early as he can. I hope next week, as I intend to be in Darrynane this day week. The sooner he comes to me the better, as I want to talk to him about politics. . . . I will publish a manifesto immediately after my arrival, and will make all my arrangements for quiet steady agitation immediately.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Waterford : August 18th, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Here I am after a slow but not unpleasant journey. I remain here to a public dinner this day. My intention is to go on to-morrow to Cork; on Sunday to Killarney; to my mountains on Monday. . . . All is going politically well. What an example of agitation the Conservatives are showing us! How grateful ought I not be to the House of Lords!⁴ I was their theme and only argument. But that rascal the Marquis of Downshire, what a fellow he was to attend such a meeting! Bravo! they have set us the example, which I do believe we will follow.

My letter on the National Bank will appear in the *Pilot* on Monday, and I intend to have at least one letter a week in that paper until I go up in November.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : Sunday night, 25 Augt. 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I send off an Express for Cahirciveen to put this and five letters for the *Pilot* into the office, so as to reach Dublin on Wednesday. I beg of you, as Barrett will be out of town, to *read the proof* yourself, and to take the greatest care to have my letter accurately

⁴ The Tory Peers, headed by the Dukes of Cumberland and Wellington, had, on August 11, thrown out

O'Connell's Tithe Bill by a majority of 67.

printed. You will see that I spurn the idea of conciliating the Orange faction.

The porter arrived *before* me, and is the very best Irish porter I ever tasted. Your brewer is admirable; I hope to live to see you able to take him into partnership in the *first* porter brewery in Ireland, for such yours ought to be. The only thing I fear is your not being able to afford such porter at selling prices. It is really superlative.

I have a difficult card to play, but I believe I can play it. The Repealers will, I hope, see the propriety of allowing the Tithe question to take precedence.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 27th August, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—There is something in the *contentiousness* of last year more stimulant than in the acquiescence of the present; and perhaps general approbation may be followed by neglect. We shall see; and yet it would be a pity that Ireland did not afford me one more opportunity to be of service.

I got the Tithe Acts, and will soon publish at length the details of the DEFECTS in the present legal power of the Parsons. I am afraid to do so until near the 1st of November, for legal reasons.

There is no doubt that if the people generally, and in particular the Presbyterians of the North, resist the payment of tithes this year generally, they will be abolished or much reduced in the next Session. The Bill rejected by the Lords will certainly pass unless there be an acquiescence in the payment. I am deeply anxious to know how the people will act. You know, however, that it is criminal to *advise* people not to pay tithes or to *combine* for non-payment, but each man separately and by himself may refuse to pay, and not be liable criminally to any prosecution.

The power of distraining for tithes is now very limited. *The land* occupied by any tenant from year to year, or by any lessee by a lease made since the 16th of August,

1832, cannot be distrained, no matter whether the cattle or goods belong to such tenant or not. Thus there are secure spots from distraint in abundance. Neither can any person be distrained for more than one year's composition, even if the person seized in fee and liable to the tithes holds the lands in his own occupation.

But the impulse should be given by the establishment of County Liberal clubs, and Liberal clubs in every town. Parochial meetings to get up petitions for the abolition of tithes should also be held as speedily and as numerously as possible. It is of vital importance that a great stir should be made as soon as possible to shew the determination of the people universally to get rid of the blood-stained impost of tithes. I am greatly inclined to confine the agitation as much as can be to the Tithe question. If we could but get an universal expression of detestation of tithes it would secure our victory in the next Session.

The Corporate Reform will be the first measure of that Session. The present Ministry *must* carry that measure; and what a blow it will be to the late ascendant party! Believe me that, if I can manage the Irish people during the present vacation, we will be able to defeat the Conservative party in the Lords and to advance *all* the interests of the Irish people. Every man will be at liberty to contribute to the support of any religion he chooses, without being compelled to contribute to one which he does not choose. In short, I never could entertain strong hopes for Ireland until now; and now, blessed be God! I am buoyant with the expectation of crushing faction and producing solid advantages for the people of Ireland.

Let me hear from you regularly on your tour. I know you will be an accurate reporter of all you see and hear. I would be glad to know particularly the private opinion of the Catholic clergy on the subject of Glebes and Manses. In short, I desire to know the state of the public mind as it really is.—Believe me always,

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Lord Duncannon had now become a very important personage. Besides being Home Secretary he was called to the House of Lords. Those who best knew this active legislator describe him as wholly free from vanity, and possessing, in a remarkable degree, sound sense and accurate information. O'Connell knew the sort of man with whom he had to deal, and addressed several letters to him marked by great strength and frankness.

To Lord Duncannon.

Darrynane Abbey : August 30th, 1834.

My Lord,—There is nothing like common sense ; it reduces every subject of political disquisition to its true value and forms the just estimate of its importance. I call upon you to appreciate by this test the complaints and the claims of the parties which at present rage in Ireland, and then I require of you, on pain of forfeiting your character as a statesman, to act firmly and decisively as common sense shall dictate. There are two parties in Ireland : the Orange, or ascendancy party, on the one hand ; the Repeal, or popular party, on the other. Each party alleges grievances, and makes demands on the Government for their redress. Submit the complaints as well as the demands of each to the scrutiny of common sense, but let it not be a barren scrutiny. Determine to follow out the result into practical measures of redress or compression. I desire no more ; but, in plain truth, I will not be content with less. Give the first consideration to the Orange party. That party is the spoiled child of favour, partiality, and undue influence. Ireland has been governed for near three hundred years by and for that party. It has ruled, indeed, with a rod of iron, and its workings have been moistened with the tears and deluged with the blood of the Irish people. So rancorous, so malignant, so mercenary, and, alas ! so sanguinary a party never yet cursed a country, or was inflicted as a malediction on a tried nation. Blessed be the will of God ! He has punished the people of Ireland by the protracted rule of the most base, trea-

cherous, and truculent faction that ever appeared on the face of the earth, and that faction is, you perceive from their late exhibitions, as fresh in the career of religious rancour and party malignity as if they began only yesterday. Yes, they were murderers from the beginning, and they are as ready for the extermination of the Irish people as if no victim had been ever yet sacrificed to the bloody Moloch of politico-religious ascendancy. Any other party would have blushed for shame at the avowal of the murderous designs which were openly proclaimed at the recent Orange meetings. But no, their souls are so hardened, and so accustomed to the avowed desire of practical cruelty, that they do not affect to conceal their wishes to render Ireland once more a desert, and to irrigate her plains with the blood of her inhabitants. I myself was not aware of the fury or indecency of this band before their recent meetings in Dublin. I really did imagine that now, when they had lost political superiority, they might listen to the voice of Reason and of Charity, and become reconciled with their countrymen. I, therefore, for five years, have omitted no occasion to court and conciliate them, but all in vain. The truth is, that they are a talentless and ungifted race, and they have not the sense to see that even an affectation of humanity would better serve their designs than that barefaced malignity which the inherent nature of their confederacy of guilt causes them to adopt and exhibit. But they make complaints—they allege that they are enduring grievances. If it be so, why their complaints should be attended to by the Government, and their grievances redressed as speedily as possible. Let the catalogue of their complaints be made out and submitted to the calm consideration of common sense. I have repeatedly called for such a catalogue. Nay, I have asked for a statement of even one grievance which Protestants really endure in Ireland; but I have hitherto asked in vain. They say that they are aggrieved as Protestants; they make general complaints and loud cries of grievances; but to this hour they are unable to specify

any one tangible point upon which to found a rational claim for redress. I call upon you, therefore, to reject their claims with calm but determined resolution. You have, of course, waded through their voluminous harangues at their last meeting. Am I not right in saying that, after talking for five hours, they have not specified any one just cause of complaint which affects the Protestants of Ireland? They have not stated any one law which aggrieves them, as Protestants, because no such law exists. They have not quoted any one statute which injures them, as Protestants, because no such statute exists. They have not pointed out any one act or regulation of the Government by which they, as Protestants, are unfavourably affected, because no such act or regulation exists. They have shown no exclusion or partiality as against them in the appointments to the Bench, or to the Bar. They have shown no preference over them in the Army or the Navy, or in the Civil Service of the State. They cannot complain of any preference over them in the nomination of Sheriffs or Magistrates, or in the selection of the Police. They do not indicate, in short, anything which affects them injuriously, as Protestants, in the distribution of place, power, honours, or emoluments, or in the protection of life or property. Thus, then, stands the case with them in point of common sense. They have no one real cause of complaint. They suffer no injustice. They endure none of the effects of an undue preference of others over them. There is no law, there is no usage injurious to them. They make all their bustle and outcry for no other reason but that they are threatened to be retarded in their career of unjust domination. They do not rule the people *quite* as absolutely as they did formerly; and, besides, there is a great and growing probability that the people will be relieved in a great measure from tithes; and it is also true that the period appears to approach when no man will be compelled to pay for the services of the clergyman of another. These are their only grievances—their only causes for complaint. You will see that I misstate in

nothing the case of the ascendancy party. They have not one real grievance. They have not one rational ground of complaint, save that which the wolf may make when about to be deprived of the spoil which he plundered from the farmer's stock. Apply—it is all trash—the rule of common sense to the outcries of the Orangeists, and you will arrive at the inevitable conclusion that since the world began there never was so senseless, so unfounded an outcry as they have recently raised; and then deal with them in silent contempt, as deserving of notice only where it may be necessary to prevent them from doing more mischief. Common sense also bids you recollect that the Orange party are the bitter, the unrelenting enemies of the present Administration. You know well that they would hurl you and your colleagues from office in one hour if they could. There is no expense, there are no pains they would spare to achieve that, to them, most desirable object. In short, they are the most envenomed of the enemies of the present Ministry. Why, then, should you confer upon that party favours and preferences? You also know that they cannot be conciliated by any kindness. . . .

I am ready to give a detail of the follies, the faults, and the crimes' of the Whigs in Ireland. I will not 'set down aught in malice,' but I will give a full and unexaggerated detail of the principal acts of folly, fatuity, and crime committed against the people of Ireland by the Ministry since November 1830, when the Tories were driven from office. . . . I have two objects in view. The first is, to vindicate the popular party in Ireland from a charge repeatedly made against them of having, without any just provocation, evinced hostility to the 'Whigs.' I wish to demonstrate that the popular party in this country have been the worst used party that ever existed, and that everything has been done by the Whigs to injure and insult the Irish people, while they have not as yet performed one act of justice or of conciliation to Ireland.

My second object is, to reconcile, if possible, the popular party in Ireland with the present Ministry—to make us

part of your strength, not of your weakness; and in particular to strengthen the Ministry in the approaching collision with the House of Lords. The reform of that House is essentially necessary to the establishment and security of popular freedom. I most anxiously desire to assist you in that peaceable struggle by which the House of Peers is, I trust, shortly to yield to common sense, and be converted by law into an Elective Senate, subject to the necessary control of public opinion. To effectuate this reconciliation it is absolutely necessary to point out which party has been hitherto in the wrong. If the popular had been so, I should be the first to advise them to retrace their steps and to atone for their errors. I respectfully but distinctly require you to adopt a similar line of conduct, when I show that the 'follies, the faults, and the crimes' have all been on the side of the Whigs, and that we have done nothing but act on the defensive, or assert actively the first principles of civil liberty. With such a demonstration before you, I will emphatically call on you, either to procure redress and a change of system for Ireland, or at once to resign and not to allow your hitherto untarnished character to be tinged with the duplicity and abandonment of principle, on the part of the leading Whigs, of which the Irish people have been the victims. Prompt, immediate redress is what I demand on the part of the people of Ireland. Do not talk to us of 'waiting a while;' that has been the cant used by the hirelings of the Whigs in this country until it has actually sickened public indignation. I tell you we will not wait. We ought not to wait longer. You cannot safely postpone us. You will lose the popular support of Ireland if you attempt to procrastinate relief. We will not be baffled; we cannot be deluded. All we ask is, that you should remove from office your enemies and ours; that the Orange faction should not continue to be, as they have hitherto exclusively been, your only instruments of rule in Ireland. We simply ask of you not to continue to entrust power, as you have hitherto done, to your mortal enemies, but to govern Ireland by avowed and tried friends of reform

and of the Irish people—by such men as you are yourself. Can anything be more reasonable than our demand? You cannot conciliate the Orange faction, even if you were to continue to administer Ireland through their instrumentality—a faction which, believe me, is as weak and powerless, save for minute and individual mischief, as it is odious and detested in the judgment of every intelligent and honest man.⁵

The office of Attorney-General became vacant; an office of enormous emolument in the hands of a prosecuting Attorney-General, and of the very first political influence. It is, you well know, the most important office in the administration of the Government of Ireland. Consulted upon everything; advising, guiding, directing everything—the Irish Government is identified with the Attorney-General. It is not of so much importance how the other offices are filled if the Attorney-General be a man of sound principles. This was the prime, the lasting blunder of the Whigs. They selected for their Attorney-General Francis Blackburne! You know him well. I appeal with confidence to the opinion which you must give your colleagues in the confidence of official intercourse. I appeal to your opinion as I would to your oath in a court of justice, for the truth of this assertion, that so unhappy and fatal a selection was never yet made. Of all the members of the Irish Bar, the very worst choice that could have been made by the Whigs was that of Blackburne. I care not what other barrister you name—I defy you to name one whose appointment could be more unfortunate for the Whigs, that is, if their object was to conciliate the people of Ireland. If, indeed, their object was to exasperate the people, then, indeed, they did right to select Mr. Blackburne. They could not possibly have devised any measure more calculated to excite popular resentment against them. They could not, in short, have

⁵ Here several unpopular appointments already noticed receive deserved censure, especially those of

Chief Baron Joy and Chief Justice Doherty.

better proclaimed hostility to the people of this country. Why was Mr. Blackburne chosen to be the principal instrument of the Whig Government? The history of his life seemed to forbid such a choice. It is quite true that he had been successful in his profession; his reputation as a lawyer considerable; an overrated man certainly, but a man of high standing in his profession; but then he was the most constant and decided enemy of both the Whigs and the people. . . . Yet it was this man, fresh from the oratory of bigotry, and from signing the last and worst petition against Emancipation, that Lord Anglesey appointed Attorney-General!! Yes, my Lord, it is this very man, the anti-Whig, the No-Popery orator, the determined enemy of Emancipation, that you, Secretary as you are for the Home Department—this is the man that you and your colleagues continue in the office of Attorney-General!! I do ask you, my Lord, have you the least doubt of this, that if Mr. Blackburne had not been in office he would have figured as a leading speaker at the last Conservative meeting? Do you not know that his heart and soul were in the meeting, and that not one man attended it who more sincerely desired the success of the objects of that assembly than your Attorney-General?

There is no man in the British dominions who would more heartily rejoice if the Whigs were turned out of office to-morrow, and the Tories replaced them, than your Attorney-General. I need only remind you of the active patronage which your Attorney-General has extended to the most Orange part of the Irish Bar. But you, my Lord, know him, and you must feel that you cannot preserve a character for consistency or political integrity unless you, without delay, either change your Attorney-General or resign. His prosecutions were contrived to raise a wall of eternal separation between the popular party in Ireland and the Ministry. It is true that these prosecutions had the sanction of Mr. Stanley and of Earl Grey; but recollect it is the faults and crimes of the Whigs I am commenting upon, not those of their Attorney-General. I blame them

for selecting a political enemy, both of the Whigs and of the Catholic people of Ireland. I blame them for placing in this important office one of the most virulent of the Orange Tories of Ireland. I blame not him for labouring in his vocation, and serving his friends openly, as he has done, under the banners of his political enemies, and with their authority.

Your nomination to be a Cabinet Minister was hailed as the commencement of a better era. It was a pledge that the vile and silly system of promoting enemies and excluding friends should be terminated, and the rational plan of at length making a Government party in Ireland, by conciliating the people, substituted. I myself saw your appointment in this light, and proclaimed it as such. I took your good sense and knowledge of Ireland as a pledge of the approach of better times. But, alas, how vain are all hopes arising from the past character of statesmen! My Lord, you are two months in office, and you have not taken one step to redeem all or any of your pledges—for pledges I justly call them.

But if you continue honest towards Ireland, why do you not begin to show it? Why is not some movement made to prove that our confidence in you is not misplaced? You cannot afford to wait—you must act. We are under the constant pressure of the dominion of the friends, relatives, and brothers—in blood and in sentiment—of those who met in the Winchelsea conclave. You may as well preach patience to a man whose knee-bone you are deliberately sawing off, as preach that virtue to a nation suffering the agony of the insulting rule of a Ministry professing liberality and friendship, and acting by the instrumentality of agents of the most bigotted and hostile principles and dispositions. I am ready to aid in the perfect reconciliation of the people with the Ministry, but I have neither the power nor the inclination to do so unless you will confer on that people, not sweet, soft words, but substantial and distinct acts of friendship and protection. Until Par-

liament meets we require that you will discountenance and dismiss your and our enemies, that you will govern Ireland by and through our and your friends.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Lord Duncannon.

(Private.)

Darrynane Abbey : 2nd Sept. 1834.

My Lord,—I left London nearly in despair of the present Administration doing anything for Ireland, although, as you are in a position in which the same persons are your enemies as well as ours, I have endeavoured since my return to this country to put the best face I could upon your intentions, and to keep the popular party as much as possible from embarrassing your Government.

The matter on which I most despair is, however, one of the most pressing necessity—the changing the agency by which the Whigs have hitherto conducted the Irish branch of their administration. When I saw you last you did not give me the least reason to hope for such a change. The coldness and apparent apathy with which you received the opinions I pressed on you upon this subject make me fear, very much fear, that your colleagues are not prepared to make those alterations amongst their Irish subalterns without which it would be vain to expect for the present Ministry the support of the Irish people, or the absence of every species of political annoyance and embarrassment. I am doing all I can to give that Ministry the fullest opportunity to redeem itself with the people of Ireland, but I must say I am doing it with a conviction that Lord Melbourne and Lord Lansdowne are inclined to countenance the Ascendancy Party amongst us if they could only mitigate the hostility of that party, and that the greater part of the remainder of the Cabinet are not sufficiently awake to the importance of taking a decided part against their Orange enemies in Ireland or of at length forming a Government party in this country, for you well know that the Govern-

ment has not an Irish party even amongst its own paid servants.

I do pray you to excuse me for giving you this trouble. But there is now so fine an opportunity of disembarassing the Ministry from one great difficulty that I cannot avoid obtruding my advice. The death of Judge Jebb⁶ gives the Ministry an opportunity to prove itself. It will be vain to ask the popular party to tolerate you⁷ if you throw away this lucky chance.

It enables you to get rid of Blackburne. You can at once disembarass yourselves of him. An arrangement could be made to shift a judge from the Common Pleas into the King's Bench and to put Blackburne into the Common Pleas, where his talents as a lawyer would be useful in that otherwise miserable court.⁸ If he refuses to take the office of puisne judge you would have a palpable reason for dismissing him as Attorney-General, and while he fills that office you continue under the reproach of being vilified and defeated by the Orangemen and yet keeping their prime patron as your first law-officer. Even if you had only the seat in the King's Bench to offer Blackburne yet he could do much less mischief as a judge of that Court than he does to Ireland and to you as Attorney-General.

If the Ministry do not dispose of Blackburne in this way the next person for the vacant seat would be Crampton if he were fit for it, but he is not. It will be a disgrace, an irretrievable disgrace to the Ministry to put on the Bench so incompetent a man. The £500 sent from the Castle to assist the Dungarvan election will, if Crampton be made a Judge, all come out next Session, and then his promotion would really be making the Bench a family coterie.⁹ The

⁶ Richard Jebb, K.B., died September 3, 1834, and was succeeded on October 21 by Philip Cecil Crampton, whom the author of *Ireland and its Rulers* describes as 'an undecided Whig.'

⁷ As member for the county Kilkenny.

⁸ From this and other passages it is evident that the biographer of

Blackburne errs in saying that the occasion which provoked O'Connell's attack on the Attorney-General 'was the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Jebb, and the fears entertained by O'Connell lest Blackburne should be offered the seat.' (P. 165).

⁹ The *Freeman's Journal* of June 28, 1834, contains a curious private letter of Crampton offering a bribe

Chancellor's son¹ is married to the daughter of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who in his turn is a near connection of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,² who in his turn is connected with the new Justice Crampton. Thus these Judges, instead of being free to correct the errors the one of the others, will have family reasons and propensities to conceal and cover mutually their mistakes or misjudgments. I may not have accurately traced the connection between these four Judges, that is, if Crampton is to be a Judge; but, if he shall be one, there certainly will be the 'partie quarrée' of four Judges nearly connected with one another on the Irish Bench, a thing which would not be tolerated in England.

But the more decisive objection, as I hope, is that Crampton really is unfit for the office. He has no character for high-mindedness or public integrity; his conduct at the Bar is sneered at, his legal knowledge by no means adequate; and if you inquire from dispassionate persons as to his conduct on the last Munster Circuit you will find an almost total want of judicial qualities. In short, it is my painful duty to warn you of the utter discredit you will fall into if you make Crampton a Judge. A Mastership in Chancery *might* be procured for him, and he would there be less liable to do injury, and have only such points come before him as could be elucidated for him by any skilful accountant.

Supposing that the office should not be given to either Crampton or Blackburne, I will, in consequence of the permission you gave me, mention the names of the Liberal barristers fit for that office.

1st. Mr. Holmes,³ advanced in life, but an excellent, strong-minded lawyer. A Presbyterian.

of £300 to promote the return of a Whig; he was then Attorney-General. The matter was brought before Parliament by Feargus O'Connor. Mr. Littleton pronounced it 'stolen' evidence.

¹ Lord Plunket's son John had married, in 1824, Charlotte, daughter

of Charles Kendal Bushe, C.J.K.B., and was father of the Right Hon. David Plunket, M.P. A son of John's, born in 1845, was christened Cecil Crampton.

² Right Hon. John Doherty.

³ Robert Holmes (of whom hereafter), a man of the highest attain-

2nd. Sergeant O'Loughlen, an excellent lawyer, a most amiable, intelligent man. A Catholic.

3rd. Sergeant Perrin possesses the judicial qualities in a very high degree. A Protestant.

4th. Mr. Richards, practises at the Chancery Bar, an excellent lawyer and man. A Protestant.⁴

5th. Mr. Richard Keating, a very good lawyer; a Liberal at all times, neglected by the present Government, persecuted by the last. A Protestant.⁵

6th. Mr. Pigot,⁶ a young man, but of great, very great legal knowledge. One of the most excellent men living. Would be, I trust will be one day, an ornament to the Bench. A Catholic.

There is a list of six, the appointment of any of whom would give great satisfaction. But if Emancipation is not to continue to be a dead letter, you will not pass over Sergeant O'Loughlen. There is not one man of any party that could deny his fitness to be a Judge. This list will also serve you, as far as any suggestions of mine can serve you, in the selection of an Attorney or Solicitor General, should either office be vacant; or, what is much more likely, my suggestions will, as, perhaps, after all they ought to be, totally disregarded. That, of course, will not at all surprise me, nor give me any kind of cause for reproach. I would not write if you were not as free to reject as I feel myself to suggest.

I saw with affright a paragraph in the *Globe*, throwing cold water on 'Corporate Reform' in Ireland. Knowing that paper to speak the sentiments of a segment of the

ments; but he was brother-in-law of Addis Emmet, and Holmes always refused to accept compliment from a Government which included Plunket. When Robert Emmet in 1803 declined to call witnesses for his defence, Plunket, as Solicitor-General, crushed him in a speech of unsparing severity. After a verdict of guilty had been given, Emmet eloquently replied from the dock, and was hanged next morning.

⁴ Perrin and Richards (of whom hereafter) both became Judges, the first on August 31, the second on September 21, 1835.

⁵ Mr. Keating was appointed Judge of the Irish Probate Court.

⁶ Mr. David Pigot became Solicitor-General in 1837, and in 1846, on the return of the Whigs to power, received the appointment of Chief Baron.

Cabinet, I regret to see this damper put on the hopes held out by the King's concluding speech. Would to heaven you were all combined in a determination to carry into effect the practical measures necessarily expectant on the Reform Bill. It would be easy now to satisfy the British—aye, and the Irish public. Presently the time for half measures and gradual improvements will have passed, perhaps for ever.

I know the Ministry are losing time and opportunity in Ireland. You are going on with your Orangeists at the Castle, at the Bar, in the Shrievalties, in the Magistracies—in all places and offices, especially in the Police, and then you blame the Irish people, sore from centuries of Orange oppressions, because they refuse to believe in the good intentions of a Ministry who appoint, or continue their own and the people's enemies in all stations of honour and emolument.

How shall I apologise for this lengthened trespass? You would be spared the trouble of reading it if I was not convinced of the patriotism and purity of your disposition to serve Ireland, and of your wish to receive information from every quarter to enable you the better to carry your intentions into effect.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Lord Duncannon.

Darrynane Abbey: September 6th, 1834.

My Lord,— . . . There happens just at this moment to be a seat vacant in the King's Bench. Of Judge Jebb I will say nothing. I will content myself merely by calling your Lordship's attention to the fact that a most animated eulogium has been published upon his judicial character by the talented but most unqualified advocate of Orangeism! Can you, then, doubt what was the colour of his judicial politics? But we war not with the dead. Peace be with him! We strive only for the living. And now, my Lord,

it remains to be seen who is to be his successor. You can select a man of competent ability and learning, whose politics are most adverse to yours and to the civil and religious liberties of the Irish nation—for there are many such at the Bar. A vivid and exclusive patronage of thirty years and upwards has brought to maturity many men of that description. You may select a man of first-rate ability and great learning, whose politics coincide with your own, and who, having been in bad times a friend to civil and religious liberty, has often felt the cold hand of repulsive bigotry coming between him and a just elevation—for there are some such men at the Irish bar—or you may choose in your caprice to appoint some man who has not committed himself in politics simply because he selected a circuit on which it might have been imprudent to avow anti-popular principles, but a man who would, when free from restraint, be just the person in the world most likely to indemnify himself for the forced silence of his probation by becoming a most active partisan on the Bench. You may select some man of plausible pretensions without one solid qualification, who would be the sport and ridicule of all parties, whilst he had the confidence of none. This ‘*juste milieu*’ course, the worst and most contemptible of all, may be followed. Alas, for poor Ireland! There seems a fatality in her destinies which could alone make such a selection probable; but if you choose to select in that way, there are not wanting men at the Irish bar to suit your unwise purposes. It is not for me to suggest the name or to trace the character of any individual. I have pointed out classes from which you may and must select. All I have to do is to assure you that the fate of your administration in Ireland depends mainly on the appointment you make. It is, indeed, time for you to take one step to conciliate the people of Ireland—to begin to give the people some reason to confide in the administration of justice, whilst you commence to cleanse the sources through which it may flow.

. . . . The ‘*Algerine Act*’ expired, but soon after the more unconstitutional and odious *Coercion Bill* was sub-

stituted. The moment the latter became law, this brilliant star of nobility⁷—who gave the pledge to the public that he would issue no proclamation—reassumed his proclamation career. He proclaimed down the existing public bodies, although their members as well as their leaders had contributed powerfully, and had, indeed, been solicited by Lord Anglesey's Government, to contribute to the carrying the Reform Bill, and keeping 'the Whigs' in office. But there remains one more characteristic trait of the Whig misgovernment of Ireland. Whilst proclamations showered down on the heads of the reformers and Whig politicians, not a single proclamation was directed, either under the Algerine or the Coercion Bill, against any Orange meeting, either great or small. All the favour and forbearance was for the Orange lodges; all the coercion and rigour was reserved for the popular assemblies. . . .

The sixth cause of popular complaint involves in it almost all the functionaries by whom 'the Whigs' administer the affairs of Ireland. Let me, however, give 'the Castle' priority, from its being the centre towards which all persons who have any business to transact with the Government naturally and necessarily turn themselves. The clerks of the Castle, high and low, form the political medium through which all the affairs of the internal regulation of Ireland must pass. It is here that the Orange faction has hitherto had the greatest advantages. Here their crimes were, in former times, palliated and pardoned—nay, frequently received the rewards due to merit and public virtue. The Castle clerks were, you know it well, my Lord, the great patrons of the ascendancy faction, and they continued to give that faction a practical ascendancy after the legal one had been destroyed. It was felt by everybody that 'the Whigs' must give up all pretence of introducing a new and ameliorated system of management in Ireland unless the Castle was purified. It was said that, as long as Gregory and his underlings had possession of the Castle, it is impossible to hope for an impartial or popular adminis-

⁷ Lord Anglesey.

tration of Irish affairs. Gregory, accordingly, was turned out, although, to do him justice, he had, with all his faults, some Irish feelings; but the other offices remained unpurged and unpurified. Gregory was dismissed; Gossett was placed at the head of the department, for such he really is; and what has the country gained by the change? I ask you, my Lord, what difference there is between Gregory and Gossett? The popular party know of none; if they believe in any, it is merely because they deem Gossett the more Conservative of the two. Neither can he be accused of the want of manliness in disclosing his opinions. He, I believe, is not guilty of any concealment, and, accordingly, I have heard that he is not only secure in his office, but that pensions have been actually bestowed upon a group, I know not how many, of his family—sons or daughters, I care not which. My friend Whittle Harvey will, I hope, have another day at them. In the meantime ‘the Castle’ remains as little popular—as anti-popular—and as thoroughly Tory as ever it was. The Whigs have changed the man. They have changed none of the principles or modes of action. Here, my Lord, I venture most earnestly to implore your assistance. The Castle clerks and secretaries are literally the eyes and ears of the Irish Government. Nothing is heard but what they choose to render audible, nothing is seen but what they please to render visible. The present Ministry, if they choose to judge and to decide for themselves, must at once dismiss every one of those who differ from them in political principles, and substitute those who will assist them in giving the people of Ireland a *fair, just, impartial*, and *honest* administration of our affairs. My complaint is—the complaint of the people of Ireland is, that you have as yet to make the first step towards giving them that justice and fair play for which alone they seek. They complain that the Whigs have been four years in office without having taken that first step, and that, instead of making the radical change at the Castle necessary to effectuate these purposes, they have changed one name without changing any part of the system. My Lord, I think I know you well.

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The vacant seat in the King's Bench should be filled by no incompetent person, no matter what his politics may be. It should be filled by a lawyer learned in his profession, by a barrister able and discriminating, successful as an advocate and respected by all for his integrity and impartiality, by a man who has never bowed the knee to the dagon of ascendancy, or rendered himself suspicious even to the Orange party by the violence or energy of his political agitation, but who, at the same time, never shrank from the tranquil but firm avowal of liberal and just opinions. There are, my Lord, such men—Catholics and Protestants—to be found at the Irish bar. Believe me, you and your colleagues are now on your trial before the Irish public; almost all of the practical enemies of Ireland have retired from office; you are substantially a new—show that you are a better—Ministry.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Lord Duncannon to O'Connell.

(Private.)

Bessborough: Septm. 8, 1834.

My dear Sir,—It is unjust in you to say I received any suggestions you made in London coldly and without the intention of profiting by them, but I told you then, and I must now repeat to you, that I should be acting unfairly by them—those with whom I am particularly connected—if I made promises or gave assurances that it did not depend on me to perform. You know my opinion on matters connected with this country, and you know also how happy I am to receive your suggestions. I am very much obliged to you for the names you mention of persons at the Bar whose talents and station entitle them to preferment. Serjeant O'Loughlen, I know, is one eminently qualified for employment, and justly popular. I have no right to complain, in the situation I hold, of a public letter being addressed to me; if I made any complaint it might perhaps be that you blame the appointment of my Private Secretary,

which is the first time such an appointment has been remarked on. General Macdonald has been a friend of mine and of all my family for many years, and is it not natural that I should appoint his son to a situation quite unconnected with politics?⁸ I think also that you will, on consideration, see that you have allowed me a very long time when you name my appointment as two months old. I have not read the article in the *Globe* to which you allude, but you may be assured that the Government are as anxious as you can be to forward the Corporation business, and the Editor must be mistaken in what he has written, and he actually writes without authority. Pray never apologise for your private letters.—Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours much obliged,

DUNCANNON.

To Lord Duncannon.

(Private.)

22 Parliament Street : [about 1834].

My dear Lord,—I must go off for Dublin early tomorrow (Friday), and earnestly beg of you to give me five minutes' conversation this evening in the House. I will be there from four until seven.

Surely, surely the Attorney-General is not to be allowed to drive the people into rebellion for the benefit of his clients? This, really, is going too far, to allow a Counsel to aid his clients by means of his official station. Ireland had, I thought, suffered every degradation that unjust power could hitherto invent, but there remained, it seems, this one—the lending her armed force to a Counsel that his fees as a professional man might abound.

Pardon me for thus expressing my indignation. I would not do so if I were not most unaffectedly desirous of assisting, as far as I could, to give the Ministry to which you belong the most effectual support in my poor power in Ireland. I want to stand excused at least in your candid judgment for the course I must take if the Irish Govern-

⁸ O'Connell, on August 30, 1834, made reference to a rumour that 'Lord Duncannon had chosen for

his private secretary a rank Tory. Alas, poor Ireland !'

ment continues to disgust its friends, to support its enemies, and to withhold any relief from the people.

Your very faithful Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 12th September, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I have only to wish that you may not be over-sanguine in your expectations. One year more of struggle will bring us to the end of our anxieties. The battle of Ireland is being well fought. It is one great step to have Blackburne out, and Perrin in as Attorney-General.⁹ The Orangeists will not act with or for the latter as they did for the former, and Lord Anglesey would not have been able, without Blackburne, to make the unpopular fight he did, in his attacks on the press. Blackburne was the mainstay of Orangeism at the Castle.

I abandon for the present all idea of 'Manes and Glebes,' but I trust the day is not distant when the subject may be revived with better temper.

Barrett is here, enjoying the mountain breezes. We have just come in from hunting and killing in high style a brace of hares.

Yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Lord Duncannon.

Darrynane Abbey : 2d Oct. 1834.

My Lord,—The enclosed letter,¹ signed by a person of the name of Monteith, is upon so interesting a subject as the life of a human being²; and although I know nothing of

⁹ Blackburne consented to accept the Judgeship vacant by the death of Jebb; but O'Connell errs in assuming that Perrin had now become Attorney-General. Crampton, as Solicitor-General, was next in promotion. Perrin refused to allow Crampton to be put above him, and declared that he would not vacate his seat in Parliament for any office lower than that of Attorney-Gener-

al. The Government thereupon requested Blackburne to waive his claim to the vacant Judgeship, and to continue as Attorney-General. (See *Life of Blackburne*, by his son, p. 89.)

¹ Not forthcoming.

² It appears, on search being made in the archives of the Home Office, that Richard Hill was the convict under sentence of death. An

the case or of the writer, I yet feel myself bound to submit that letter for your consideration. This is certainly the most painful and the most awful part of your public duty;³ but may I be allowed to conjecture that you never will regret having advised the milder course. One mistake on the other side is not easily forgotten.

The public sentiment is very strong for the abolition of Capital punishment save in cases of *wilful* murder. And, indeed, transportation for life is no trivial punishment for any crime devoid of the greatest atrocity. The Scotch judges, I believe, are far from entering into these sentiments.

I avail myself of this opportunity to return you my very sincere thanks for your kind letter. The tone of that letter places me under great obligation to you, and makes me doubly regret having introduced anything into my publications relative to your private secretary. Surely I must have seen the same sentiment expressed in some newspaper, else I could not have known anything about the matter. But, at all events, I am sincerely sorry for having alluded to it, and I hope you will pardon it, as I certainly did not intend to exceed the license fairly allowed to a public writer.

The Irish public are, of course, waiting with impatience to know when you will *begin* to do anything for Ireland. You perceive that *as yet* the Irish are in no degree the better for the recent changes. The Orange is as predominant in all official situations as ever it was. The seat on the bench remains to be filled.⁴ Now I fear *for* the mode in which it *will* be filled. At all events you have as yet done nothing that the public do or can know, and another *long* month is now to be added to the former two. I for my part can conjecture only one difficulty. Your colleagues are afraid to do justice to Ireland. They fear that if justice were done

examination of the papers in this case shows, that in consequence of influential representations to Lord Duncannon, and the production of further evidence as to the character of Mrs. Brunton, the principal witness against Hill, the sentence of death was commuted to transportation for

life. O'Connell's correspondent was Mr. William Monteith, of Glasgow. His lengthy letter need not be obtruded here.

³ As Home Secretary.

⁴ Philip Cecil Crampton was appointed Justice of the King's Bench on October 21, 1834.

the faction which to a certain extent favours the British to the exclusion of Irish power would desert that post and thus give additional strength to the Repeal party; whereas the fact is, that the strength of the Repeal party consists in the torpor, the apathy, or, worse, the hostility of the Government evinced towards the People of Ireland.

See how all the Orange party are acting. See how well the popular party are conducting themselves. I have got the political Unions to remain quiescent. I have, by the promise of a future liberal club, prevented the present formation of *that* or more active public bodies. You *may* still conciliate the Irish people, but certainly not by *doing nothing* towards that object. Do not flatter yourselves that the dismissal of Mr. Cross will be accepted as any part of the payment of the debt you owe the Irish nation.⁵ No, you *must* discard plentifully, or you do nothing.

It is worthy of remark that 'the Popular party' require nothing for themselves. They only ask the discountenancing of your enemies as well as of them. Look at any County in Ireland, and I defy you to point out any one in which the Orange Tories are not in everything the favoured, caressed and courted of the Irish government. It is so in Kerry; it is so in every other county. And then the batch of Parson-justices of the peace. But if you were to begin in Dublin: if you were to get rid of Blackburne—on the bench or off; if you were once rid of him, then, indeed, you would begin to inspire your friends with hope, your enemies with despair.

I had no notion that I could so long keep down active agitation by the popular party. But I perceive that there is more of tact in the public than I could have believed. They see, as I do, that our business is to allow the Orange faction to display its hostility to the Government, and to be able hereafter either to praise the Government for sup-

⁵ In October, 1834, Philip Cross, a justice of the county Cork, and the father of Dr. Cross, executed in 1887 for poisoning his wife, was committed to prison and superseded

as a magistrate for an assault on a local farmer. Cross acted as tithe-collector for the Rev. Mr. Beresford, and had been brought into frequent collision with the people.

pressing that faction, or to triumph over the Government in the estimation of all rational men by shewing that the Ministry have not the courage to discountenance their enemies even whilst they were insulted by that enemy.

Chief Justice Bushe attributed the Union to an intolerance on the part of Britain of Irish prosperity. I begin to fancy that the sentiment still prevails. Lord Grey and Stanley acted as if they were animated by it without themselves being conscious that they were so. I fear that Lord Melbourne and Lord Lansdowne (his Irish estates notwithstanding) are actuated by similar motives.

But conjectures are wearisome and useless; facts are alone to be relied on. And it is a fact that the popular party in Ireland have not, since *this* Ministry was formed, done one act to embarrass them; that the Orange faction in Ireland has done everything to embarrass the Ministry and disturb the country; and oh, most strange and disheartening conclusion, that the popular party are everywhere discountenanced, and the Orange party are everywhere countenanced, encouraged, promoted, and *stuffed* into every official situation!

I do not presume to ask you in your official capacity, but I implore you to ask yourself, is this System ever to be changed? and if it be, why should not a beginning, a demonstration be made of such change?

But with all your excellent intentions I ask in vain. Lord Anglesey changed little or nothing of the Old System except the acting upon that system with rather more vigour than his predecessors. Your Ministry have taken up and continued all the errors of Lord Anglesey's government, and there is as little appearance now of any amelioration as if Peel and Goulburn were still in management of this country.

I write in no spirit of hostility, but in great and bitter regret.

I beg of you, however, my Lord, to be assured of the respect and gratitude with which I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most faithful Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

Darrynane Abbey : 2nd Oct. 1834.

My dear Barrett,—Tell Staunton I got his letter and will readily preside at a dinner for the Monks of Latrappe.⁶ But it is not possible for me to fix the time, as the period of my return to Dublin depends on the *Custom House trial*, which, as far as I can see, is *not* likely to come on.

Cobbett is bothered upon Poor Laws. He says they were not complained of as producing mischief for near 300 years. He is quite ignorant, they have been complained of for near half that time, and the 'Great Rebellion,' as Cromwell's wars are called, rendered the effects of the Poor Laws almost imperceptible for near 50 years more. Cobbett advocates the very worst part of the system—that which interferes with the rate of wages.

He says that Poor Laws—English Poor Laws exist in America without complaint. Ignorance again. They are most loudly complained of in America, and are producing the most mischievous effects, notwithstanding the far greater demand for labour there than in any European country.

Cobbett, as an Englishman, would not be sorry to put the Irish on the wrong scent, and to prevent them from discussing the Repeal.

I mean to send you by the post of Saturday another and a short letter to Mr. Crawford, to conclude what I have to say on the subject of tithes. I like much your style of attack on Cobbett. Be as civil as possible, and merely protest against the taking off of attention from *the Repeal*; that is, impute *no motives*, but argue as much as you please.

There is nothing certain with respect to the Law changes—nothing at all. I have this from excellent authority. Perrin, *between you and me*, has *as yet*—that is,

⁶ A branch of this Carthusian Order had lately been established at Mount Melleray, co. Waterford.

two days ago—had no communication on the subject of any kind whatsoever.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

Darrynane Abbey : 11th Oct. 1834.

My dear Barrett,—I entirely agree with your view of the recent changes. How much better would it have been if O'Loghlen⁷ had also refused to act under Blackburne. But I am not surprised that he took the office, and although I wish he had avoided it, I cannot, strange as it may appear, feel sorry that he has the situation of Solicitor-General. Perrin behaved nobly. I wrote to him tendering any support in my power in case he should want a re-election. The conduct of Lord Duncannon in consenting to have Blackburne continued is actually atrocious, and demonstrates that we have nothing to expect from him. Perhaps *it is*—nay, I am convinced *it is* all for the better. The Repeal gains by it.

I had written the far greater part of my 4th letter when the news of the Legal appointments reached me. I do not know when I felt more of political disgust than I did with the present Ministry. Nothing could be more foolish than their conduct. To make Crampton, with all his inefficiencies and total lack of principle, a judge, is terrific; to continue Blackburne in the office of Attorney-General; to nominate Green⁸ to the Sergeantcy—all—all are in the very worst spirit. Who is it that is honest and will not allow that it is utterly impossible to do anything for Ireland without a domestic Legislature?

Believe me always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁷ Serjeant Michael O'Loghlen had now become Solicitor-General. He and Staunton left Clare together, when boys, to seek their fortune. A fine monument of O'Loghlen, as

Master of the Rolls, may be seen in the Hall of the Four Courts, Dublin.

⁸ Richard Wilson Green, afterwards Baron.

To Lord Duncannon.

Darrynane Abbey : 11th October, 1834.

My Lord,— . . . The popular party in Ireland suspended the pursuit of the objects of their most dear and most enthusiastic solicitude, lest they should embarrass your Government in any way. There were no public meetings of the popular party, no political unions revived; scarce did the 'Liberal Clubs' start into existence here and there. We abided, in respectful expectation, your time to begin to act with common sense and common honesty towards the Irish people. Alas, alas! with what fatuity have you deceived us! Yet, it seems incredible, but it is literally true, that your Attorney-General is not only a favourite with, but actually the idol of, that party who hate the present Ministers so intensely! Was there ever before anything like this heard of? The death of Jebb gave you an opportunity which, if there were amongst you one redeeming political virtue, would have been gladly seized on. You could have, if you pleased, thrown round the Attorney-General the neutrality of the Bench, and easily removed him to the Common Pleas, where, as a lawyer, remote from politics, he would have had abundant occasion to be useful. But you prefer to keep him in his office, so influential over all the details of the administration of justice.

I turn with reluctance to another part of your arrangements. I speak of it with pain and sorrow, without the possibility of resentment. I almost weep whilst I write. You have made Philip Crampton a judge! Well! well!! well!!! Do you think the public will forget the debate on the Irish Jury Bill, in which the learned Member for Milborne Port—for that was Mr. Crampton's then description—had his law so harshly handled by Sugden and Scarlett, so that even Stanley conceded the amelioration of the Bill to me, instead of sustaining his law-officer? But, above all, can the public ever forget the exhibition made by the same learned member, of legal and constitutional

lore, when he was so violently upset by Sir Charles Wetherell, and so unceremoniously thrown overboard by Lord Althorp? There was a period in Irish history in which the Bench as well as the jury-box were packed with furious and dishonest partisans. That period is past, but it has left behind it one recollection—it is of the fact that there never was a period in which it was so unsafe to publish the truth respecting the administration of justice in Ireland as at that very time when the judges were dishonest and the jurymen partial. I, too, can be silent. Oh! I had nearly forgotten that with the left-handed dexterity of the Whigs you conceive all is well again because you have appointed O'Loghlen to the post of Solicitor-General. This is just what that most unwise Lord Anglesey thought when he made Joy Chief Baron and Doherty Chief Justice, because he at the same time made O'Loghlen a Serjeant. Than O'Loghlen a more amiable man never lived—a more learned lawyer, a more sensible and discreet, and, at the same time, a more powerful advocate never belonged to the Irish bar. He never made an enemy, he never lost a friend. I esteem him, I love him as a son or a brother. He possesses in an eminent degree all the best judicial qualities. His appointment was, therefore, a most excellent one; but recollect, the office you have given him now is scarcely a promotion. He was already second King's Serjeant, and the first Serjeant had declared that he never would accept a seat on the Bench. Besides, the Solicitor-General has no part of the control of the public business. You have, therefore, given O'Loghlen a different office; but neither a promotion nor a situation in which he can be useful to the country. In fact, his appointment is no evidence of that favorable change in the system which is the great *all* which the public desired. It has been said that O'Loghlen ought not to serve under Blackburne. I doubt my own judgment when I differ in anything from my amiable and highly-gifted friend. I certainly should not have been sorry if he had refused the office, but I cannot be sorry at any step in profession which advances so worthy

and exemplary a man. However, you can derive no advantage from his selection. You have Blackburne in front—your political guide in Ireland; you have Crampton on the Bench; and you bring up the rear with Mr. Richard Wilson Greene as your new Serjeant!⁹ Thus it is that you have squandered this precious opportunity—chance, accidents, and events favour you—and all are thrown away or made subservient to the interests of your enemies and of the enemies of Ireland. Of what value is it to Ireland that Earl Grey should have retired, if he has left to his successors the same proud hatred he appeared to entertain towards the Irish nation? Are the representatives of that sentiment predominant in the Cabinet? Know that Lord John Russell cherishes feelings of a similar description. Ireland, in the unjust and disgraceful scantiness of her Reform Bill, deeply felt that hostility. I know—and everybody knows—that Lord Melbourne wants sufficient power of mind to enable him to comprehend the favourable opportunities afforded him to conciliate the popular party—that is, Ireland. In plain truth, my Lord, it is quite manifest that Lord Melbourne is utterly incompetent for the high office he holds. It is lamentable to think that the destinies of the Irish people should depend in any degree on so inefficient a person. Lord Lansdowne, too, is hostile to Ireland, with a hatred the more active and persevering, because he is bound by every obligation to entertain diametrically opposite sentiments. In fact, I perceive, and most bitterly lament, that none of you have the moral courage to do justice to Ireland. You do not act in the government of Ireland upon the principles of common sense and common political honesty. A gentleman who was once in an office of great importance in Ireland told me that it was idle for me to expect the British Ministry to do justice to the claims of the Irish people—that they durst not do so. I am quite sure the Whigs have not the moral courage to act by the Irish nation as they have done by the people of Scotland and of England. You are now three months in office, and

⁹ Poor Greene eventually went out of his mind.

you have done nothing for Ireland; you have not in any, even the slightest, degree altered the old system. The people are as ground down by Orange functionaries as ever they were in the most palmy days of Toryism. . . .

You are a much better Repealer than I am. Your conduct and that of your colleagues has made the people more inveterate for Repeal than any arguments or exertions of mine could possibly do.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 11th Oct. 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I do not exactly know what to do with myself. I greatly fear you over rate the public sentiment on my behalf, and rely too much on the dexterity of your arrangements,¹ which, although in themselves admirable, cannot supply the want which I fear exists in the 'public heart.' It seems to me that your letters since your recent trip have less of the confidence of success than formerly. Am I mistaken?

Look out for a person of the name of John Holmes, living at 47 Bolton Street, and give him five guineas I owe him. It was a fee which I did not earn. . . .

The law appointments are quite characteristic of the scoundrel Whigs. They could not have done worse, else they would contrive to do so, I warrant them. It is frightful to think of their putting Crampton on the Bench. I could wish that O'Loghlen had refused the office *under* Blackburne, although I am not sorry to see him Solicitor-General. Perrin has behaved as became him. I wrote to Perrin to offer him any aid in my power, on his becoming Attorney-General, to have him returned for Monaghan.²

Send me, pray, by return, *Tait* for October, the *Catholic Magazine*, and the *Westminster Review*.

¹ In organising the O'Connell Tribute. who presided at O'Connell's trial in 1844.

² Mr. Perrin was one of the Judges

I am arranging my *Agitation Plans*, so as to baffle the present mean and miserable Administration. But at present the Orange faction is really doing our business.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey : 17th Oct. 1834.³

My dear FitzPatrick,—Your letter of last night was truly gratifying. What should I have been able to achieve but for you? I must have retired from the struggle for Ireland, and sunk into a mere professional drudge. May God bless *you*, and direct *me*! . . .

I am sure Barrett will not be such a blockhead as to take any notice of the rascally abuse in the *Freeman*. He never would hear an end of their ruffianism if he did. It will ruin the paper with the public. Tell him I have written 8 pages of my first letter to Lord Durham, and hope to send him some by Sunday's post. I will be able to do so unless to-morrow be a very fine day for hunting. Tell him also that he is quite mistaken—'The Angler in Ireland' is not the English Barrister Allen, whom I never saw, but a Parson of the name of Bilton. Indeed, if he had looked to the dates, he would have seen that 'Bilton's' visit here was last year, and Allen came to the country only in the present. This vagabond Parson imagines he was so important a personage that *I* was playing off to court his high and mighty smiles. Bah! I will hit the *Observer* for his tale of O—— M——. It is indeed quite foolish, as a mode of sustaining his reason for my hating Gossett, that I was guilty of perfidy, and that Gossett *detected* me. Besides, if I offered Gossett to procure informations against any man in the community, and he refused to have them received, he would give me a direct opportunity to impeach his conduct.⁴ The whole story is

³ O'Connell little dreamt that, while he wrote this letter, both Houses of Parliament were in flames.

⁴ Sir William Gossett was Under Secretary at Dublin Castle.

a mere colour given to the fact that several freeholders who promised to vote for Maurice⁵ were visited in the night by Terry Alts,⁶ or persons pretending so to be, and sworn not to vote for him, and of my undisguised efforts to procure legal evidence against the perpetrators.

Always yours, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

P.S. M—— was named in my correspondence with Stanley. Let nobody deny this.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 17th Oct. 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I wrote to you this morning a letter containing a statement with reference to the *Observer's* charge against O—— M——. I have seen that charge since, and now write to beg of you not to mention to any one the contents of my letter relative to that subject. The story in the *Observer* is a perfect lie, but say nothing that can get into print on this subject, as the *Reporter* is the paper in which I will publish my contradiction of the story.

Tell Barrett⁷ from me to spare that poor creature Malachy Fallon. He has a wife, and probably a family, and nothing to eat. I beg of Barrett to spare him for my sake, and I make it a point that he and you will conceal that this forbearance is at my request. It would look like hypocrisy if it were known that I interfered. I do therefore make it

⁵ His son, afterwards M.P. for Tralee.

⁶ An agrarian body illegally combined, who protested against the high price of land. It was hard to account for the origin of 'Terry Alt,' which some might say meant *high land*.

⁷ 'Richard Barrett was the greatest scold after Barnes of the *Times*,' remarked Carew O'Dwyer, addressing the present writer. An illustration of this quality is afforded by the fact that Barrett accused Robt.

Holmes of being a hunks, who for every guinea he got spent merely the shilling and hoarded the pound. Holmes challenged him. Barrett replied that, having a wife and a large family depending on him for bread, he did not conceive that he was bound to risk his life to gratify an enemy. Holmes then wrote a stinging letter, of which the pith was that this consideration need not deter him, for he solemnly promised, in case Barrett fell, to settle a fair annuity on his family.

a point that you and Barrett will literally comply with what I ask. I will take it as a proof of real kindness.⁸

Yours always,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Richard Barrett.

(Private.)

Darrynane Abbey : 21st Oct. 1834.

My dear Barrett,—I feel the dilemma in which the scoundrel in the *Observer* has thrown your case with M——. But the story itself, as told by him, is a lie. The fellow, however, has sources of discovering all the facts, as he is an *élève* of Stanley, with whom I was in correspondence about the Clare election and the conduct of the arch miscreant. I have, of course, found it necessary to put in an answer through the *Southern Reporter*, but in my letter I have treated the matter contemptuously; but take care to say enough to satisfy M——'s friends of the falsehood. I have then, with professional tact—or call it artifice—made a violent attack on the *Courier* for another lie, and thrown off as much as possible the public attention to the other *scent*.

Your play is to assail the *Courier* also, just discreetly talking of the falsehood of my accusing M—— to Gossett. But be discreet in *that*.

I entirely agree with Pigot⁹ on the subject of agitation. We are not strong enough yet, nor can we be whilst the Orange fury keeps together so large a portion of the upper classes in virulent hostility. It is best to allow that candle to burn itself out a little more before we attempt to out-shine it. The Government is essentially Orange, and would readily put on that cockade if it durst; at all events, it gives all sorts of countenance to that party. Time, however, is working for us; men are daily becoming less

⁸ Mr. Fallon, to whom O'Connell refers, was a barrister; but the grounds for attack would possess little interest now. Barrett's abuse, however, probably made Fallon's

fortune, for within the next few months he was gazetted to a County Court Judgeship.

⁹ David Pigot, afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

and less scared at the Repeal, and I do confidently expect a superior class of Repealers will soon join the people.

I do not intend to go to Dublin for at least another fortnight. I will then consider of my plans, and, you may be sure, expose as little point to the enemy as I can.

Believe me always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell, in a public letter, makes more clear the charge preferred against him by the *Observer*. It may be found in the *Dublin Evening Post* of October 30, 1834. His biographers are silent on the point. The *Observer* had sought to account for his hatred of Sir W. Gossett by declaring that this official had detected him in an attempt to mislead the Irish Government. 'And what is his story of this detection?' asks O'Connell. '1st. That I went to Gossett and offered to place in his hands such information as would enable them to bring to justice the leader of the Terry Alts. 2ndly. That I called on Gossett not to lose a moment in arresting M—— as such person. 3rdly. That Gossett asked me to make an affidavit of my knowledge or belief of the statement. 4thly. That I refused to do so, but strenuously urged the arrest of the individual.' O'Connell argued, *that*, if this were true, Gossett ought instantly to be cashiered and be himself sent to a lunatic asylum. The duty of Gossett upon such an offer would have been plain. He should have referred his visitor to the Law-officers of the Crown or appointed a magistrate to take in legal form the informations. O'Connell declared that, though he once met Gossett, he would not know him again, and then sought at considerable length to refute the story. This elaborate defence might make cynics suspect that the charge was not wholly untrue; but the words in which O'Connell, writing privately to his confidant, refers to it, serve to show the sincerity of his public denial. In the following year Gossett was dislodged from Dublin Castle in favour of Drummond, no doubt at the instance of O'Connell.

A letter to Mr. Sharman Crawford on the alternative methods of governing Ireland, dated September 27, 1834, will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

To Lord Durham.

Darrynane Abbey: 21st October, 1834.

. . . The real and rational Reformers of England, including the great body of the intelligent and active Dissenters, place much of their hopes of the success of the purest plans for ameliorating all existing institutions in their thorough conviction of your manliness and integrity. The Reformers of Scotland, comprising the overwhelming majority of the Scotch people, 'those who cherish the spirit of the sturdiest independence, and a deadly hatred of all monopoly and favouritism,' honour you as their leader and guide, and clearly perceive that, unless you mar your destiny, you will work out your own Reform Bill into all the details of improvement which it is calculated, and was intended by you, at least, to carry into practical effect.

As to Ireland, my Lord, she has but few benefactors, and you are one of them. We remember with heartfelt gratitude that when some of the Irish Peers betrayed—and the rest openly assailed us—you stood alone in opposition to the vile Coercion Bill, even at the time when the Cabinet, of which your father-in-law was at the head, appeared unanimous in its support. This is not only an earnest, but a proof that you would, if you were in power, govern Ireland on precisely the same constitutional principles upon which you would govern Great Britain. My Lord, the popular party in Ireland require from you no more. They will not, and they ought not, to be satisfied with less from any man. You are intolerant of recognised abuses; so are the Irish people. You are convinced that the Ministry ought, without delay, to proceed to the reformation of such abuses; in that also the Irish people agree with you. You declare that such reformation should be achieved deliberately and cautiously, but totally, and without compromise of principle; in that deliberation and caution, and in the absolute necessity of the reform being complete in detail as well as in principle, the Irish people heartily concur with you. You

would have no clipping or paring the measures of reformation; and here again, as in everything else, the Irish people heartily concur.¹

The Whigs would, I am convinced, have refused any reform to Ireland if they possibly could. The reform they gave was stingy, restricted, and insulting. They should have given to Ireland the same franchises they gave to England. They should have assimilated the Irish with the English Bill. The principle and the practice of assimilation is what I now contend for, and I trust I shall successfully contend for it, under your auspices. If I can help it, Ireland shall not be less favoured or less free than any other portion of the King's dominions. Wishing you, my Lord, health and prosperity, and earnestly conjuring you to appreciate your just value to the community at large, and to the cause of rational, deliberate, uncompromising and progressive reform, and to act with the vigour and decision befitting the station you occupy in the public mind and in the public confidence, I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your most obedient Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 28th October, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I am very glad Barrett has married, as you tell me he has married, a sensible woman. That is all he wanted. It will make him give up those small boyishnesses which alone stood in his way. Give him my affectionate congratulations. How I long to see him a leading conductor of the popular Press! Wait a while. I do think all is progressing well.

I expect to be in Dublin on the 20th of November. I cannot longer defer my journey there, and I am not sorry for it. With the sway which I think I have over the public

¹ A number of suggestions are here made which would not possess interest now.

mind I do imagine confidently that I need not be afraid of anybody being able to mislead any part of the mass of agitation. We must be discreet but not acquiescent. There is a tone of great utility if we can keep it in chime. But the truth is—in my judgment at least it is the truth—that events are working for us of themselves and are creating a more universal spirit of Irishism than could be produced by the most energetic and skilful agitation.

As to Mr. D—— and his Bank, it is a bubble which must necessarily burst, and D—— will just draw his hand out of it in time to devolve the ruin on others if he possibly can. He, however, may be mistaken. Recollect I tell you his bank must necessarily break.² It is as inevitable as the rising of to-morrow's sun. Nothing but self-interested superintendence of the most vigilant kind can possibly sustain such a bank, and where can that be had in their scheme?

Call on the Rev. Mr. Whelan³ in Clarendon Street and tell him I bid you give him any money he requires without asking for what. Merely take his voucher for it.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

O'Connell calculated that Barrett's marriage would cure him of some 'boyishnesses,' but it is a question whether the experiment in his case proved specially successful.

Richard Barrett was formidable as a censor of public men and measures, and for the astuteness with which he exposed jobs, intrigues, and the plots of politicians, but outside his editorial capacity he was a child in simplicity and at times almost a fool in mental abstraction. A glimpse of Barrett's *ménage* may here be given, furnished to the present writer by Quinlan, an old journalist, who knew him well. The awkwardness of the dilemmas in which Barrett's 'absence' involved him would furnish playwrights with good material for 'situation.' When he became a 'Benedict' he

² The Agricultural Bank, which collapsed soon after. The gentleman in question had been its managing director. Its premises are now

used by Cramer as a piano store.

³ Afterwards Roman Catholic Bishop of Bombay.

took up his residence in an old baronial hall several miles from Dublin; all matters requisite for the effective maintenance of housekeeping were daily written down by Mrs. Barrett upon a card which, suspended by a string, her husband wore round his neck, and on returning from town the required articles were consigned to her care. Once when preparations were being made on a large scale to entertain O'Connell, Steele, and other popular celebrities, Mrs. Barrett wrote her list as usual and, passing it over her husband's neck, urged him to be more than ordinarily wideawake in attending to its requirements. Barrett duly returned laden with good things. The company had assembled, and the aroma of culinary preparations was diffusing itself around on a cold November evening, when, to the dismay of 'Mrs. B.,' the startling fact came out that not a single candle remained in the house. Barrett, on being upbraided with the oversight, suggested in his defence and despair that candles could not possibly have been on the list or he should never have forgotten them. 'Nay, Richard, it was the very first,' replied his wife, 'and I remember it well because I wrote it just over the hole through which I passed the string.' Barrett remained sceptical: he took the list as close as possible to the flickering flame of the fire in order to establish by documental evidence his wife's mistake and his own correctness. 'Never,' observed Quinlan, 'can I forget Barrett's face as the card revealed his error. It was like that of a convicted felon.' To dine in the dark was out of the question, and it became necessary to send a man on horseback for candles to Dublin ere dinner could be served. To O'Connell the delay was most awkward, for he never ate anything between breakfast and dinner, and he was generally voracious when feeding-time came.

Other traits of Barrett's 'absence' I heard from Staunton. One morning, before starting for the editorial 'sanctum,' Barrett received from his wife a pair of socks to put on in case he should get wet feet. A busy day was passed, and when driving home with Staunton that evening both dismissed the car at Blue-Bell, determining to complete their journey on foot. They had not proceeded far when Barrett complained of pain, which at last attained such intensity that he was obliged to sit down. The uneasiness was at first pleasantly ascribed to a bunion which failed to assist 'the pilgrim's progress,' but on reaching home Mrs. Barrett

discovered that her husband had inadvertently pulled three socks over one foot, thereby causing a vice-like pressure which his preoccupied mind had left unheeded.

These *ana* are trifling, but the importance of O'Connell's correspondence with Barrett helps to give them an interest they might not otherwise possess.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 4th November, 1834.

My dear FitzPatrick,—This is a moment of considerable importance, and yet I do not hear from you. Excuse my impatience. My course is this. I leave Cahirciveen say Friday, the 14th, and reach Cork by Monday, the 17th, thence to Dublin on the 19th. From that day till the 5th of December I will devote myself professionally to the preparation for the Custom House case.⁴ I will then, please God, return to this country until it is time to go to Parliament. I, however, do not mean to leave Dublin without organising 'agitation' in the most prudent and discreet manner and putting it into action. The great difficulty is to avoid strengthening the Orange faction by giving them and the rascally Government the same interest—that is, to oppose the Repeal. How I execrate that faction for their readiness to consent to any degradation of Ireland, provided they but share in the spoil! Enough of this, and more.

STRICTLY PRIVATE.—Do you not think an advertisement or letter from you as secretary, or from the Trustees, would be necessary or useful to contradict the paragraph in *The Times* of the tribute being forced? But I leave this to your own judgment.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 6th Novr. 1834.

Insert in a conspicuous part of the *Morning Register* an advertisement in these words: 'THE HALF-NOTE has been RECEIVED, 3rd November, 1834;' say no more. It is, you will be glad to hear, privately another £100 from, or at least in, the same female handwriting.

⁴ The destruction of property by fire at the Dublin Custom House.

I felt unpleasant at being more than a week without hearing from you. I take for granted that if you had any pleasant news you would communicate them, and that you are silent only because you do not wish to annoy me.

Darrynane Abbey : 11th November, 1834.

The Dublin Post bag of Friday has not yet reached Cahirciveen. There must have been some blunder or some robbery somewhere. The English papers and letters, the Dublin papers and letters, leaving Dublin on Friday evening are all missing. This is no small inconvenience to me. Be so good as to call on the secretary of the Post Office and endeavour to have out what has become of *these*. Write to me to Cork the result.

I got your letter of Saturday last night. It was consolatory to me after so long a silence.

My own opinion of politics is to the last degree favorable to Ireland. I do think we are approaching a great national triumph, and that the Orange orgies have done us immense good.⁵

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Take up the *Mail* of Friday and Monday, and keep it for me. That of Wednesday send to the Square.⁶ The fact is, 'my women' do not like to read abuse of me.

'We are all out: turned out neck and crop. Wellington is Prime Minister, and we give up the seals to-morrow,' writes Palmerston to Temple on November 16, 1834.⁷

A *Times* leader (Nov. 14) concluded with these words:

⁵ On the announcement of the fall of Lord Melbourne's Ministry, a great meeting of Orangemen, presided over by the Lord Mayor, was held in Dublin. The speeches expressed unusual ferocity. It is pleasanter to read some poetic stanzas which the Rev. Mr. McCree delivered amid rounds of applause:—

The power that nerved the stalwart arms of Gideon's chosen few—

The power that led great William, Boyne's reddening torrent through; In His protecting aid confide, and every foe defy:

Then put your trust in God, my boys, and keep your powder dry.

With many more of a similar spirit and aim.

⁶ His house, 30 Merrion Square S.

⁷ *Life of Palmerston*, by Lytton Bulwer (Lord Dalling), vol. ii. 207.

'The Queen has done it all.'⁸ Lord Campbell explains, with the help of correspondence, that the King had been told by Queen Adelaide and the Court ladies about him, that Corporate Reform 'was a most revolutionary scheme, which would be the ruin of him and his dynasty' (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 65).

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Cork: 17th Novr. 1834.

I have just heard of the change of Ministry⁹ and a thousand reports. It is well that we are rid of the humbuggers. *Nous verrons*. I am convinced all will be for the better.

I am—blessed be God—in excellent health and spirits. The Duke of Wellington would cheer the Orangeists,¹ but his reign cannot last. I find it idle, however, to speculate until I know more facts.

On the dissolution of the Melbourne Ministry, Blackburne, O'Connell's *bête noire*, resigned the Attorney-Generalship of Ireland. Chief Baron Joy, a Tory of the old school, whose promotion by the Whigs had greatly incensed O'Connell, at once wrote a private letter to Blackburne, strongly doubting the prudence of the act. He adds: 'Those to whom I have spoken of it consider it as an announcement that you are become a Whig; and that this will be generally considered so I have little doubt; thus the way you have taken to avoid any imputation on your

⁸ Canon O'Rorke, in the *Centenary Memoir of O'Connell*, p. 177, states that this article was written by Brougham.

⁹ The downfall of Lord Melbourne's Government.

¹ The Duke had been sent for by the King and requested to form a Ministry, but he replied that, without the aid of Peel, who was then in Rome, it could not be done. However, he held the helm until Peel appeared. Lord Anglesey, whom O'Connell so persistently abuses, writing to Lord Cloncurry, asks, 'Can the Peel and Wellington Government stand? I am sure it ought not, and if there be common

honesty and fair dealing in man it will not.'

Joseph Hume, M.P. for Middlesex, writing to O'Connell (Dec. 18, 1834), says: 'If the House or the people submit to what Peel proposes, they will deserve the execration of the world. I hear of not a sufficient number of changes to induce me to think that they can carry one vote in the House, and I therefore anticipate a short reign. I hope you or some person with authority and knowledge of past events will answer Sir Robert's address, paragraph by paragraph, and expose the Jesuitical performance, so that it may react against him.'

political character will be that which, in the eyes of many, will confirm it.' ² Blackburne took Joy's advice and continued under Peel to act as Attorney-General.

In the category described as 'humbuggers' O'Connell included Lord Wellesley, brother of the Duke. Wellesley greatly disliked O'Connell. In his will he bequeaths to his secretary, Mr. Alfred Montgomery, all his MSS., 'And I desire him to publish such of my papers as shall tend to illustrate my two Administrations in Ireland, and to protect my honor against the slander of Melbourne and his pillar of state, O'Connell.' This, however, was subsequent to 'the Lichfield House compact.'

Lord Wellesley was succeeded in December, 1834, by Lord Haddington, who, when riding into Dublin from Kingstown, asked the meaning of 'G. P. O.' inscribed on several stones as he passed. 'It means *God preserve O'Connell*,' interposed a local wit. The stones were mile-stones, and 'G. P. O.' indicated 'General Post Office.'

O'Connell, in his letter of Feb. 21, 1825, speaks of the great pleasure he derived from having made the personal acquaintance of Cobbett. The latter soon after assailed O'Connell with much violence for having consented to certain securities, as an adjunct to Catholic Emancipation. O'Connell replied that on a former occasion he called Cobbett a comical miscreant, but he now withdrew the appellation. 'Cobbett is comical only when he means to be serious. When he seeks to be jocose he is truly doleful; but, serious or jocose, he is at all times a miscreant.' Cobbett, in fact, had brought a charge of corruption against O'Connell, but finally withdrew it. 'I impute to him inordinate vanity,' he said, 'vanity greater than my pen can paint.' In reply, O'Connell said that Cobbett had

² Peel's Cabinet fell after a few months' administration, and Melbourne, knowing O'Connell's opinion of Blackburne, did not ask him to rejoin. He resumed his practice at the bar, but on the return of Peel to power Blackburne became Attorney-General again. In 1842 he accepted the Mastership of the Rolls, and it is stated in his *Life* that to him is due the proclamation putting down O'Connell's Monster Repeal Meetings—the *avant-courrier* of his arrest and imprisonment. Ere Peel vacated

office in 1846 Blackburne was promoted to be Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench; and on the advent of Lord Derby as Premier in 1852 he became Lord Chancellor; but his resignation was almost compelled by Lord Derby in March 1867; and Blackburne, we are told, regarded it as 'a harsh and cruel return for his abnegation of self, and for the sacrifices which he had so cheerfully made.' He subsequently declined a baronetcy, and died in the following September.

outlived his intellect. 'It cannot be said of him that his "wine of life is on the lees," because wine is too generous a liquor to enter into the comparison, but his gin of existence is on the dregs; and that fluid which, while it flowed clearly, was intoxicating even to madness, is now but a muddy residuum, productive of nausea and incapable of giving one exhilarating sensation.'

O'Keeffe, one of the latest of O'Connell's biographers, deploras this 'ill-omened quarrel, because it widened immeasurably the breach between the two democracies and destined both to thralldom by rendering the chance of their union perfectly hopeless' (ii. 412).

He does not know that the quarrel was at last healed. Doubtless motives of policy, quite as much as the dictates of a higher feeling, led O'Connell to make friends with Cobbett ere he died. The latter visited Ireland at this time.

*To William Cobbett, M.P.*³

Merrion Square, Dublin: 20 Nov. 1834.

My dear Sir,—You may imagine how I am surrounded, but I am most desirous to see you. It, however, must (for reasons) be HERE. I want to thank you most heartily for all the good, the unmixed good, you have done for Ireland, and the still greater good your visit and your knowledge of the state of this country must produce. I will be at home all the evening and all the morning to-morrow; and all the time—*anglicè*—any time you choose. Accept my warmest thanks in the name and on behalf of Ireland, and believe me always, with sincere regard,

Yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A subsequent letter, marked 'Private,' tells Cobbett that he wronged him in announcing in the *Register* that his bank had failed. Cobbett, in fact, had confounded O'Connell's bank with another.⁴ He explains how different his scheme was from that which Cobbett had opposed.

³ A previous letter, reviewing Cobbett's public life, and expressing a wish that he would visit Darrynane, was published in a newspaper, and will be found in the Appendix (see p. 536).

⁴ O'Connell's bank was 'The

National.' The bank which collapsed was 'The Agricultural,' as he correctly foresaw (see p. 499). The mistake annoyed him very much, but he refrained from controverting the point in Cobbett's *Register* lest it should tend to reopen old wounds.

*Charles Phillips*⁵ to Daniel O'Connell.

(Postmark, Nov. 25, 1834.)

49 Chancery Lane: Sunday.

My dear O'Connell,—As I am here at headquarters, and have better means of judging than those at a distance, I think it right to say, for *your own guidance*, that I am perfectly satisfied the Duke will not face the present House of Commons, and so I would advise you to prepare, and that instantly, for an election. You should strain every nerve to increase your parliamentary force in Ireland, for, depend upon it, you are *personally* more interested in the issue of the pending struggle than any other man in the empire. No matter at what risk, an effort will be made to crush *you*; the Tories are too vain and too furious to try conciliation, and they know well they and you cannot coexist, so crush you if they can they will. The struggle will be terrific—but it will be final, if the friends to reform succeed. The Duke must know this, and therefore will exert all the energies of despair. Prepare, then, firmly and ardently, and lose not a moment. I have reason to think one of the grand devices to divide Ireland and weaken *you* is a scheme to pay the Catholic priesthood after the manner of the *regium donum*. Do not treat this too lightly. That there is much apathy *here* is not to be denied, and if this continues at the election, the Tories will have their reign renewed for some years at all events. As to the late men, they were dismissed when they had not the least idea of it, and with less ceremony than you would dismiss a footman. That it was the result of a previous intrigue is *to me* clear. Do you think the King would have attempted such a step had he not been personally assured that the Duke was ready? I am told you may expect the Ministerial manifesto in a postscript to the 'Quarterly Review,' which comes out on

⁵ The well-known forensic orator and author of *Curran and his Contemporaries*, called to the English Bar in 1821. In his notice of O'Connell he blows hot and cold. Brougham greatly admired this book, and it was through his aid that

Phillips secured his promotion. In 1846 Lord Lyndhurst appointed him an insolvency judge. Phillips is warmly praised by Christopher North. Allibone devotes a page to the enumeration of his writings. Died in London, February 1, 1859.

Tuesday. Your stronghold is the Irish Church and tithes⁶—the Duke's weak point lies there; there is a section of his own party who will not hear of his touching either, and the great body of the people will not endure his toleration of them, so he is between two fires. I much lament the ex-Ministry; they were prepared to do more for Ireland than we are likely to see proposed even by any other. Why they did not go faster is now pretty clear—they could not. As it is, their intentions with respect to the Irish Church early next Session sent them out, not very respectfully.

However, what is past cannot be recalled, though I hope what is done may be undone. Much will undoubtedly depend on Ireland.

Remember me sincerely to Mrs. O'C. and all around you, and believe me

Your sincere Friend,

C. PHILLIPS.

To William Cobbett.

It is hardly worth giving you the trouble of learning the truth upon subjects of such little interest to you or the public, especially when the all-absorbing question of the existence of the present Ministry fills the public mind. There never was a Ministry so hateful to Ireland, so inimical to the Irish people. It is impossible to describe to you the wretched state of the different public departments in this country under the present Iron rule. Orangeism in its most insulting as well as oppressive form is quite triumphant. Every old abuse is in full activity, every new instrument of oppression put in motion.

Alas, I feel disposed to declaim, because it is impossible adequately to describe the state of misery which this Government produces and seeks to perpetuate.

You often told me that the evils of Ireland were due to the British Government, not to the British people; and yet

⁶ It was at this time that O'Connell called the Duke 'a stunted corporal,' and Sir Robert 'Surface Peel.' Phillips was a careful student

of the Duke's character, and in 1852 published a memoir of his great countryman.

how many of the English people look on with apathy and acquiescence at this renewal of all the horrors of the old system of misrule. Nay, my dear Sir, what, after all, are we to expect even from *you*—you to whom the people of Ireland would now be so much disposed to look up to as a friend and a Protector? What will you do on this occasion?⁷

[The remainder lost.]

To his Wife.

Merrion Square: Monday, 1st Dec. 1834.

My darling Love,—Nothing decisive as yet, but every thing in the highest degree favorable. Hume has arrived in full health in London, and is doing well in politics. I just heard from him, and he is strongly convinced that the Duke cannot stand the public shock. There has been a great meeting at Birmingham against the Duke, and your husband was one of the promoters of it, under the rose. Attwood is behaving very ill. It is feared that he has *sold the pass*. In short, the upshot is this—that matters are still in doubt, but it is not believed that the Duke can stand.

Darling, how delighted I am at your enjoying such health and taking such walks; but, sweetest, take care of your health for me, my own darling love, and do not risk cold. My dearest heart's darling, I wish you were here with me. You do not know how my fond heart is wrapped in you, my own Mary! I wish I was saying *that* in your ear.

To his Wife.

Merrion Square: 2d Dec. 1834.

My own Love,—We shall certainly have a contest in Dublin, which is vexatious, and would be the more so if it kept me from enjoying Darrynane. I am delighted to find

⁷ This letter is dated February 10, 1835, and was purchased for the MS. library of the British Museum. Soon after that date Cobbett died. He had just attained the goal of his ambition—a seat in Parliament; but

its late hours and close atmosphere were ill-suited to a man who usually went to bed at nine and rose at four. O'Connell attended the funeral of Cobbett.

Capt. Wm. Browne up for Kerry, as it gives Charles ⁸ a fit opportunity to return without injury to the Cause. I will instantly delight my Kate ⁹ by making an arrangement to that effect. I intend to write this day, so that, dissolution or not, Charles and Kate can and shall be gratified.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Merrion Square : 10 December, 1834.

My revered Lord,—There have been many letters of congratulation addressed to your Grace, but none, I will venture to say, so cordial as mine; because I not only congratulate you as a gentleman whom even as a private individual I highly respect, but congratulate you in the name of Ireland and for her sake and, above all, for the sake of that faith whose sacred deposit has been preserved by your predecessors, and will be preserved unblemished and, indeed, with increased lustre by your Grace. Indeed, I venture to hope that there are times coming when the period of the oppression of the Church in Ireland, destined by God in His adorable dispensations to arrive, will have arrived. I *do*, I *confess*, venture to augur favourably from your nomination by his Holiness the Pope, you who had proved yourself too honest an Irishman not to be obnoxious to the British Administration. It seems to me to be the brilliant dawn of a noonday in which the light of Rome will no longer be obscured by the clouds of English influence. I often sighed at the delusion created in the political circles at Rome on the subject of the English Government. They thought, good souls, that England *favoured* the Catholics when she only *yielded* to our claims, not knowing that the secret animosity to Catholicity was as envenomed as ever it was.

The present Pope—may God protect his Holiness!—has seen through that delusion, and you are a proof that it will no longer be a cause of misconception to be as true to the political interests as to the spiritual wants of the people of

⁸ His son-in-law, Charles O'Connell, of Bahoss.

⁹ Wife of the above.

Ireland.¹ I am delighted at this new era. No man can be more devoted to the spiritual authority of his Holiness. I have always detested what were called the *liberties* of the 'Church in France.'² I am convinced that the more direct and unequivocal is that authority according to the canons the more easy will it be to preserve the unity of the faith.

I need not add that there does not live a human being more submissive, *in omnibus*, to the Church than I am, from the most unchangeable conviction. I have only to add that, if your Grace could have *any* occasion for *any* exertions of mine in support of *any* candidate in any county in Connaught, I shall have the greatest pleasure in receiving your suggestions as cherished commands.

I have, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Tralee : 1st January, 1835.

I have been kept here these three days in *hot water*. The county is organised and safe. The Knight has not the slightest chance.³ The town is, I am told, safe, but in these close constituencies three or four turn the scale, and that creates bribery. The temptation is really too formidable. I go on to-morrow to Darrynane Abbey. I am not a little annoyed that no human being wrote to me from Dublin.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

But in vitality and 'go' FitzPatrick was several 'human beings rolled into one.' Writing from Dublin on January 5, 1835, he goes on to say:—

'A good deal of uneasiness continues to be expressed at your absence from Dublin. There is every reason to be-

¹ Gregory XVI. had just resisted an influential intrigue to prevent the appointment of Dr. MacHale to the Archbishopric of Tuam.

² The Four Gallican Articles, or 'Liberties,' drawn up 1682, received prominent support from Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, a few days after

he had eloquently defended, in the pulpit, the rights of Peter's Chair.

³ A great electoral battle for the representation of Kerry was now about to be fought. It will be seen that Morgan John O'Connell defeated the Knight of Kerry.

lieve the City election will take place on Monday, and every chicane will doubtless be resorted to against the popular party. I understand the assessor to be West, who is, I believe, son of the Alderman. He has been in all parts of town throughout the week in company with Boyton.⁴ Your presence appears indispensable to check to some extent the system of trick which the Corporators know so well how to practise, and you will probably receive letters from other quarters by this night's post urging your immediate return. Alderman Smyth,⁵ &c., continue to promulge that payment in advance, and for the year in full, of the Paving and Lighting Tax is requisite to qualify the householders under £50. O'Loghlen got the Paving Act from Maley last night, and Sause has just told me he will write his opinion to-night for the guidance of the Committee. It would seem as if he thought it unnecessary to make the payment in advance. Some persons suggest that, where the means of the people do not enable them to pay the whole year's tax at once, half the sum should be tendered, and it would probably be received, from the exhausted state of the treasury of the department. This is, of course, contemplating the necessity of making the payment previously to coming up to vote, and the persons to whom I allude wished me to see Hickman Kearney, the Paving Commissioner, privately to get him to afford every facility in his power to the defaulters in this or any other way. Do you think this requisite ?

It was a favourite object with O'Connell to rescue Carlow from what he styled its political servitude under Colonel Bruen. The following letters record that desire ; but at the General Election his opponents, Bruen and Kavanagh, were successful.

To E. M. FitzGerald, Carlow.

Darrynane Abbey : Jan. 4th, 1835.

My dear FitzGerald,—I wish I could get to Carlow. I am most anxious to be in Carlow. Will you see his Lordship the Bishop, and submit to him my plan ? If you cannot get anybody else, I will lodge £500, or, if necessary, £1,000, for my eldest son, Maurice, and set him up for the County. Maurice can and will be elected for Tralee, but

⁴ Dr. Boyton, it will be remembered, was the Tory Tribune.

⁵ One of the heads of the Paving Board. (See letter of July 16, 1836.)

he could afterwards elect to sit for Carlow County and leave Tralee for a second choice. I say this only on the understanding that nobody else can be got; in that case I will make the sacrifice I mention to prevent a Tory getting in for the County. You will, however, recollect that I do this merely to prevent a Tory from being your member, and for no other purpose, though, to be perfectly candid, I would rather have Maurice represent a County than a Borough; but beyond that preference there is nothing else. I am, however, ready to make a personal sacrifice of from £500 to £1,000 for that purpose. I go to Killarney on Tuesday, the 6th; on Wednesday, the 7th, to Cork.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To N. A. Vigors.

My dear Vigors,—We are all bustle, preparing to fight the Tories in all the Counties and Boroughs. Carlow interests you more immediately. Wallace and Blakeney know they will not answer. The honest men there suggest Mr. Ponsonby, Lord Duncannon's son, and Mr. Raphael,⁶ the London Sheriff. Will you call on Lord Duncannon on this business? I wrote to him to say that I should ask you to do so. First, to-morrow, you should see Mr. Raphael, and ascertain whether or not he will stand. We could secure him the County at considerable expense, say at the very utmost £3,000. You can tell him that I will be one of the guarantees of his success if he will thus come forward as the colleague of Mr. Ponsonby. Let me know without delay whether there be any chance of effectuating this plan.—Believe me always, my dear Vigors,

Yours most faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

⁶ The early part of this letter obviously refers to the General Election, and the above allusion shows that Mr. Raphael, whose name came

into prominence later on, had expressed a desire at this time to come forward. (See vol. ii. p. 25.)

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Darrynane Abbey: 5th Jany. 35.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Dublin City is a county in itself, and cannot have its election, I take it, sooner than to-morrow week. You seem to suppose that my friend Maley has made a great discovery as to the paving, &c., cess. I am surprised you did not recollect that there were others with heads on their shoulders as well as Maley. We have, of course, been acting on the conviction of the accuracy of the opinions which he gave you; but see, between you and me, how much more kind it would be of him to go and give the benefit of his knowledge to the election committees sitting in Dublin for me and my late colleague than sending the fact to me 200 miles distant. It is, indeed, known already, but every fresh announcement would be a stimulant to the voters to pay up their taxes. They have until the moment of polling to pay. No question arises as to the vote, but the voter may be required before he votes to swear in these words: 'That not more than one half-year's grand jury or municipal cesses, rates, or taxes are now due and payable *by me* in respect to the premisses in this certificate mentioned.' Now whoever is not personally liable to the cesses, such as persons registered out of shops, warehouses, &c., can at once take this oath.

And, between you and me, so can any man who does not owe more than one half-year's grand jury cesses, and has brought any *one* of the municipal cesses to one half-year; for supposing the grand jury cesses out of the question, then the words are clear, *I do not owe more than one half-year of my municipal cesses*; that is clearly *all* the cesses taken in the aggregate, not of any one cess taken by itself. The oath is not, 'I do not owe the amount of more than one half-year of *any* municipal cess;' the oath is, 'I do not owe more than the amount of one half-year of my municipal *cesses*,' in the plural, which is strictly and critically true if he has cleared off any one cess. Remember the oath negatives the plural only, the plural conjointly; it does

not negative any singular or particular. If you pay one municipal cess, you owe only some of your cesses, not all. This will be clearer still if you suppose *four* municipal cesses. You pay three off, you owe one. You can most safely swear you do not owe municipal *cesses*. Keep this distinction from getting into any newspaper until we present Pigot's opinion to the voters, and keep it to yourself, lest it should discourage people from, or rather induce them to omit, paying all cesses. What we are striving to do before we announce this construction of the oath is to get as many voters as possible to pay all, especially the paving, &c., tax. Some of their freemen will be hard set to take the oath with truth for an opponent.

Send all the Dublin newspapers to Darrynane.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Cork: Thursday night: Jan. 8, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Your letter is the first symptom of defeat in Dublin which I have seen. Surely every human being who *will* pay his taxes at any time *may* as well pay them now. At least all reasonably solvent persons understand the thing. There is no objection to be discussed about taxes. All that can be done is to require the voter's oath. Now no voter of ours shall, if we know it, perjure himself. I am decidedly of opinion that it will not be perjury if the voter shall have paid any one of the municipal cesses in full, that is, to the last half-yearly payment. If there be one cess reduced to the last half-yearly payment then the oath is true, and can be taken with perfect safety. The question would at the worst be for a committee of the House of Commons.

But all trouble would be got over if every voter went on Monday morning, or on Saturday to prefer, and paid the paving, &c., tax; that is the heaviest, and the one most easily shewn to be in arrears. It is the *householders* alone who are liable to this payment. All other voters can pass without taking this oath. You say my counsel is wanting. I have

been repeating these two months—*pay your taxes, pay your taxes, pay your taxes!* It is, I see, vain, and Dublin is lost. God's holy will be done!

I intend to sleep in Fermoy to-morrow night, and to reach Dublin in *all* Saturday, that is, by twelve at night. I will then have the afternoon of Sunday to repeat my parrot cry.

This county is perfectly safe.

Faithfully yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

It was at this period that the Liberator's nephew, Morgan John O'Connell, who continued to sit for the County Kerry until 1852, was returned as its representative for the first time.

To his Brother.

Darrynane Abbey: Sunday night.

My dearest John,—Who could be the stupidest of the stupid who told you I said nothing about the County Election⁷ in my address? Look at the resolution with which I prefaced my speech, and if there be a shadow of Report of what I said, you will see that the entire aim of my argument went to rouse every man who heard me against the two supporters of the present Ministry. My principal topic was *tithes*, and there was not a word directed to rouse the farmers against the Knight,⁸ and in the first instance I required *them* to come in to influence Tralee. What a *silly, silly* wretch it must be that gave you the uneasiness of thinking I did not speak to both elections—not equally, because the far greater part of what I said was applicable and directed to the County Election. I never felt so annoyed as at the foolish falsehood which was thus conveyed to you.

So far from that impression being made [on] those who surrounded me, on the contrary, they declared the impression I made decisive of the Knight. It may be that I did not speak of the candidates. I certainly said nothing

⁷ For Kerry.

⁸ The Knight of Kerry.

of my own son, principally because I had the people in tears upon the topic of the Rathcormac murders.⁹ To suppose, as your informant supposed, what I said encouraged the Conservatives, is, you would admit if you heard me, the height of madness. My plan was to attack the Knight.

I will be in Killarney on Tuesday evening, and if you desire, give one other written address. Dublin election is to be *early*, so that I have no doubt of being with my dear Morgan before the Kerry contest can commence.

Ever, my dearest John,

Your most affectionate Brother,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Brother.

Merrion Square: 15th January, 1835.

My dearest John,—I enclose you a letter I got this day from Lord Duncannon. It will shew you that Lord Kenmare is strongly solicited by the Whigs, *from whom he accepted obligations*, not to persevere in supporting the Knight [of Kerry]. Do not publish this letter, or make any public use of Lord Duncannon's name. I give it to you to shew the tenants that they have, and will probably find, powerful and influential advocates with Lord Kenmare in the event of their voting against the Knight.

I am sorry to tell you that my election here is in the scale. I am bid not to despond, but after bringing up voters as we did last night, I myself was not prepared to have them run up a great majority on this day's poll. When I heard last it was 111 over us, making on the gross poll 890. It is quite true that we met with every obstacle in getting our men polled; all the oaths that can be put are put to each man, and thus a number of our people remain waiting hours for their turn.

I am naturally of a desponding disposition when anything goes against me. I am the spoiled child of fortune, and fall naturally into despair when I meet an unexpected

⁹ Sanguinary collisions had occurred at Rathcormac and Walls-town in consequence of resolute efforts to levy tithes from the people.

reverse, though it were only in appearance; however, to-morrow will decide our fate.¹

Wishing my dearest Morgan and the cause all manner of success,

Believe me always your most affectionate Brother,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

P.S. The gross majority against me is 48.

'He who foresees calamities,' says Porteus, 'suffers them twice over.' This remark often applied to O'Connell. O'Connell and Ruthven were returned for the city of Dublin by very greatly reduced majorities, but the notorious corruption of the illiterate freemen of Dublin, who, later on, were often taken from the workhouse to vote, gave this circumstance no political significance.

To Archbishop MacHale.

Merrion Square: 17th January, 1835.

My ever respected Lord,—You will, I know, be glad to see my frank. Blessed be God, all is at last well here. I find from the papers that Hume is in danger in Middlesex. What a glorious opportunity if *we* could return him for Mayo with Brabazon! I would guarantee the payment of £1,000 if he *were certainly returned*—that is, I have no more doubt of that money than I have of my existence. Pardon me for obtruding on your Grace at this moment, but it would be a high honour to Ireland to have such a representative.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To his Wife.

Tralee: Jan. 21, 1835.

My darling Love,—Though the Knight is at the head of the poll as between him and Mullins, yet, darling, he is beaten—beaten like a common hack. He polled all his strength this day. I came here in no small despondency and found everything right. The Knight will be exhausted before the close to-morrow.

¹ See also letter dated April 9, 1834, previous to his speech in the great 'Repeal' debate.

When I went to Meath I was quite certain of our darling Morgan's return. I have left it without being by any means so confident. I, however, hope he will be returned. I will know tolerably well to-morrow night.

Darling, I went to Kildalky, beyond Trim, on Saturday. I remained on Sunday at the house—a very good one—of the priest, a namesake of ours. I harangued a great multitude. On Monday we spent the day speechifying. I came that night to Dublin. Yesterday to Nenagh, and thence this day. . . .

I am weary, darling, and must go to bed. I will write to-morrow to tell you when I *will* be with you; but, darling, we must be in Dublin as soon as possible.

I enclose a letter for darling Kate. Give her my tenderest love and to her sweet Mary and a kiss to dearest Tissy.

Your most tenderly fond

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Tralee: Jan. 21, 35.
Wednesday night.

I came in from Nenagh; found my nephew with almost every vote—268; the Knight,² 172; Mullins, 167. The Knight nearly exhausted—Mullins strong in *one* strength. There is no chance for the Knight. He has not half a day more in him.

What idle stories you pick up about the petition in Dublin! No enquiry at the residences of the voters can do us any injury. The only question can come upon those *for whom* the Landlords are liable to the taxes. That is a question of Law affecting some sixty votes, or at the utmost eighty, even if decided against us; but we should on our parts prepare for the scrutiny of the adverse votes. I will write more at large to-morrow, when I think I will have to announce the retreat of the Knight's friends. He is not here himself, being confined in London by illness.

² The Knight of Kerry.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

Tralee : 22d January, 35.

2d Day.

M. J. O'Connell . . .	534	Majority . . .	212
Mullins	346	„	24
The Knight [of Kerry] . . .	322		

My dear FitzPatrick,—The above shews you that what I wrote yesterday is likely to be verified—nay, is verified. The majority would be much greater but that there are only three *booths*, and the accustomed modes of delay were resorted to, such as putting oaths to their own voters. The election has lost all animation, as the event is not in the slightest degree doubtful. It is consolatory to see that there is another Lord of the Admiralty completely at sea, without the possibility of getting a seat. I begin to expect that we shall kick out the present vile Administration root and branch, but my uneasiness for Meath was, I confess, exceedingly great until I got Morgan's letter and yours.³ I take it that his success the first day is almost decisive of ultimate victory. There have been in this county 680 voters polled, and I do not think there are 200 more to poll. Of these 49 in *one book* are decidedly ours, and 70 in another. In the third the majority is also distinctly ours. In short, I consume your time quite uselessly in giving the details of a success which was not doubtful after the first three hours.

I intend to send you the close of the poll to-morrow. You may communicate the Kerry poll to Conway as well as to Staunton and the *Freeman*.

This Session was made remarkable by a junction between the Whigs, Radicals and O'Connellites, with the object of giving the Tories a bad fall. It was decided to put forward Mr. Abercromby—a great Liberal—against the seated Speaker, Manners Sutton, and to try the strength of both sides in a struggle for the Chair. The following letter—

³ Henry Grattan and Morgan O'Connell were returned for Meath.

now, of course, printed for the first time—is an interesting record of the overtures made and plan of action:—

Henry Warburton, M.P., to Daniel O'Connell.

45 Cadogan Place: Jnry. 30, 1835.

My dear Sir,—Abercromby, according to my anticipation, has consented to be put in nomination as Speaker, and I rely on your sending notice thereof to all the Members over whom you have any influence. As fast as promises to support him are communicated to you, pray inform me, that I may forward the information to his more immediate supporters or Committee. So much for that.

Concert and co-operation are now above all things necessary. The body of the Liberals will not unite cordially under a Whig Leader. What is the other alternative? That the three principal sections of Liberals, viz. the Irish Party, the Whigs, and the Radicals or Radical-Whigs, should each have their meetings and their Chairman. This is what Mr. Grote, myself, Mr. Clay, Mr. Ward, Mr. Hume, &c., are endeavouring to effect, by forming a Radical Brigade, with a Chairman or head to communicate with the Whig Leader and yourself, so as to secure co-operation for common public objects. Our party cares not to swell its members by inducing Members to come to them who would rather join the Whigs or the Irish party; but their object is to prevent that total disorganization which we have witnessed during the last two Sessions. Until the Tories are turned out, I do not see what is to prevent these three sections drawing very much together on most questions.

Can you inform me which of the Irish Anti-Tories are likely to join us, rather than your party, or that of the Whigs, as I wish to make application to any such to become of our crew?

Sir John Hobhouse is desirous that Members should be here by the 15th.—I am, Sir,

Yours truly,

HENRY WARBURTON.

Abercromby was member for Edinburgh, and had uniformly voted with O'Connell. Manners Sutton had been Speaker for several years, and was known to be a staunch Tory; he afterwards became Lord Canterbury. Raikes, in his diary of February 2, 1835, says that Wellington and Peel looked forward to the coming struggle 'with sanguine hopes of success.' *The Times* smelt mischief brewing, and waxed wroth. 'Look,' it said, 'at the condition in which poor Mr. Abercromby with "his principle" will stand when O'Connell is whipping up the devils to support him in his unblessed attempt to place himself in the chair. Shame will overwhelm him at the sight of such allies.'

At last the tug of war came. Abercromby got 224 English votes, 31 Scotch votes, and 61 of 'the Tail,' as O'Connell's following was familiarly styled. Here is O'Connell's letter announcing the result. Great importance was attached to this victory, for, with the exception of one interval, Tory government had held sway from 1809, Lord Liverpool's Ministry in itself enduring fifteen years.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

19 February, 1835.

My dear Fitz,—Victory! I write on my knee in a crowded room. Victory, victory! The Tories are down, and for ever. There must be a change of Administration.

Abercromby	316
Sutton	306
Majority	10
Total voters	622
2 tellers	2
	<hr/> 624

Yours ever,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

'Henry Stanley, who had promised me to vote for Sutton, voted for Abercromby,' Disraeli bitterly writes. 'O'Connell is so powerful that he says he will be in the Cabinet. It is the Irish Catholic Party that has done all the mischief.'⁴

⁴ *Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence, 1832-1852, p. 32.*

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 20th February, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I wrote you a triumphant note yesterday from the crowded Library—obliged to kneel in order to be able to write. Matters are looking well. It is not possible for this Ministry to stand. There are no less than 316 pledged, and *pledged* in the most unequivocal way, against this Ministry.⁵ There were many who voted against us out of personal regard to the late Speaker, many by reason of having been entrapped into premature promises. In short, we must have fifty more on the next division, be it what it may. It is, however, plain that no Ministry can do their work without a majority of from 80 to 100 at their side. Now it is utterly beyond any question that Peel cannot command *any* majority. How, then, is he to work the machine? There is another comfort: the Tories boasted that they had a resource in the Stanley party, upon whom they could, in case of defeat, fall back. Well, they had the full benefit of that party, and still they have been signally defeated. There is indeed a comfort in all this.

The next division will be on the Address. If Peel remains in office till then we will beat him on that Address, and again on the Corporate Reform question, and again on the Irish Church question. In short, consider his Ministry as virtually annihilated. This is good news for Ireland.

Believe me always, yours &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 27th February, 35.

My dear FitzPatrick,—The second defeat of the Ministry⁶ was more signal than the first, because it was after

⁵ The Administration of Sir Robert Peel.

⁶ Lord Morpeth, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, moved an amendment to the Address, which was carried

against the Government by a majority of 7. On March 20 Peel was again beaten on the Church question by 322 to 289, but still he clung to office.

Stanley had withdrawn from our party all that he would withdraw. It is, therefore, clear that this Ministry cannot possibly stand. To be sure, Stanley is the 'calamity' of every party to which he belongs or belonged. He was the author of the Coercion Bill and the ruin of the character of his colleagues.

The Committee upon my election is to be balloted for on the 19th March, and the lists &c. must be delivered in the next day. The hopes of success on the part of the Conservatives is small indeed compared with the certain gratification of creating great expense. I fear the subscription at our side will be but small, as most people imagine that so futile a petition will not be persevered in; but that is an error; I would say, a *fatal error*. The enemy will persevere merely in the view of putting *me* to expense. This you will urge upon the mind of every friend of mine.

You will perceive that I have offered my terms of support to the Whig Ministry when they shall be formed again. They are these:—

1st. As good and extensive a Reform Bill for Ireland as the English people may have. In other words, the same measure of reform for both countries.

2d. The reduction of the establishment to the extent of the wants of the Protestants, and a proper application of the surplus.

3d. A compleat Corporate Reform.

Upon getting these terms I am ready to give a full and fair trial of their efficiency. I would give that trial to shew whether *they* could produce good government in Ireland, and if that experiment failed I would come back with tenfold force to 'the Repeal.'

I hope my offer of support will facilitate the return to office of the Whigs.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The papers give a most inadequate idea of the success of my ridicule of the Stanley party.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : Friday, March 6, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I could not but smile at your notions—*first*, that I should hesitate to put down my name for £100 for the expenses of the petition.⁷ Believe me that any thing I save of £1,000 in the defence I will consider it so much actually gained. I have indeed already expended near £90 in the preliminary arrangements. This includes £50 which I gave Sir R. Sidney for all his own services and the use of all his clerks and his office. I thought this a great bargain.

Secondly. It seems to me that you offer me only the hope of a mouthful of moonshine when you talk of some refuse sum left after some club which has been dissolved. You call it £200. Murphy wrote to me that it was £150. Perhaps £50 will turn out to be the ultimate produce. But, at all events, I will go on. Heaven knows that I am bound to every exertion, whether I get assistance from others or not. Do not therefore imagine that I repine at the unwillingness exhibited to collect funds for the purposes of defence. It, indeed, sometimes comes on me with a sensation of sorrow that I have left Kerry, where I was always secure. But I do not repine. Why, after all, should I?

I wish you to communicate these sentiments of mine to Redmond, Le Fenu, &c. I do not wish you should by any means take any personal part in this matter—I mean in collection of funds.

The point on which the present Ministry are divided is—the mission of Lord Londonderry to St. Petersburg. The Duke, it is supposed, got Peel to accede to his limited views on Corporate Reform by threatening to resign, and that he is playing the same game again as to the Petersburg Embassy. It is not so clear that he will succeed on the

⁷ On the re-election of O'Connell and Ruthven for the City of Dublin a petition was promptly lodged against their return; and several

letters will be found written during the costly and protracted inquiry that the petition entailed.

present occasion by a mere threat; if not, he resigns and this Ministry is knocked up. Indeed, I do not see how it can possibly carry on the public business.

Yours very sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

National Bank of Ireland, 39 Old Broad Street,
London: 7th March, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I do not think I ever felt more of the approach of disgust than at the contents of your letter, verifying as it does my prophecy of yesterday, that the refuse club fund you spoke of would not realise more than £50; but it verified it differently from what I imagined. I thought the refuse fund would not in itself amount to more than that sum, but I did not imagine that there would be any difficulty in giving *all* that thus lay by. But you see it is not so. They think it would be too magnificent to give the entire, and therefore they gave the smaller sum. I have no right to complain on *my own account*, neither do I.

There, however, never was such total desertion of a great contest. Murphy wants aid. Of course he does, and the £50 given by the old club will just pay his coadjutor, Terence J. Dolan, who, as he is a paid agent, charges but a very small sum. The result, however, will be this. I shall be put in for from £1,000 to £1,500 for the Dublin Election petition, from £500 to £1,000 for the Tralee Election petition, a like sum for the Youghal petition, a like sum for my half of the Meath Election petition, and you perceive how little prospect I have of any species of assistance.

Again, it appears to me that there has not been any one tangible point advanced in point of information or evidence. One day I get a letter full of great and sounding promises; the next day another shewing that not one halfpenny worth has been done; but I own the paltry shrinking from contributing the *entire* club money indicates so much coldness and indifference, that if any thing could possibly

induce me to abandon the contest it would be such conduct. I repeat, however, my determination to go on. I wish I could write the letter for Dr. Carroll, but I must confess that the total abandonment of the popular party in Dublin disables me from the exertion. Why, I am told David Lynch⁸ got into a passion for receiving one of our circulars! It is certain that he is doing nothing, and he lost his vote by neglecting to pay his pipe-water tax. But I do not complain of any thing save the vapouring letters I receive.

Yours very sincerely,
DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

9 Clarges St. : March 9th, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—Tell Barrett I cannot write to him this day, nor have I anything to write about. Every political event is in such obscurity that it is in vain to prophesy, and hope becomes sick by the delays which have occurred. Lord Chandos is already deserted by many of his supporters on the Malt tax; and the motion on Friday to stop the supplies, or rather to limit them to six months, has not been decided on sufficiently early to promise success. It is, I believe, certain that Stanley has had an hour's conversation with the King, but it has been without results. I would, however, add my decided opinion that the present Ministry cannot possibly stand.

So much for politics; now for the petitions against *me*. There are now in progress of presentation three petitions against my three sons besides that against myself. The Orange enemy is resolved to run me down if he possibly can. I complain only of the Dublin expenses. It is too bad to have them all thrown on me. You perceive there is more sympathy for me in England than in Dublin. Am I not supporting the rights of every voter? How ridiculous is it, therefore, to rejoice in the services of Dolan, or any body else who, although wretchedly paid, necessarily takes

⁸ Father of the late Judge Lynch.

away the entire of our fund—namely, the boasted club money. I will, however, fight all the enemies of the country whilst I have one guinea.

That will not be long, it seems, for there were not funds ready for my £400 draft to the College Bursar; if not, it would account for the deficiency; but then you should have written to him and required him to carry into effect our arrangement.

It is exceedingly ludicrous to see the grave letters I get from Dublin relying on my 'proverbial good fortune,' just as if it were a matter of chances. The doctrine of chances would not be against any man whose dice were more than once favourable. But it is not so. I have been fortunate hitherto simply because of the invaluable assistance I get from other quarters and other persons. It was because I was directed and aided by a wisdom and by exertions not my own that such success took place, and I will now fail for the opposite reason.

Go to my house and search in my study for a deed engrossed on parchment executed by me and my son Maurice to my son Morgan just before the Meath Election.

To Joseph Denis Mullen.

London: 11th March, 1835.

My dear Mullen,—Many thanks for your kind and satisfactory communication. The Orange party hate me with a most malignant hatred. They have involved me in the expenses of four petitions. I have no chance of mitigating their hatred, so I continue firm in my determination to deserve more of it. I am cheered to find those persons rallying with me with whom upon matters of detail I might have had differences, and to see that the violence of the common enemy is wisely met by our becoming common friends.

Believe me, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : 13th March, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I perceive distinctly enough that we shall get but little money from Dublin to defray the expenses of the Petition. I see I must ruin myself in these expenses, and I *will*. Come what may, I will see the matter through. It is the severest strife I have had for Ireland as far as I am personally concerned, but it certainly is not for me to shrink. Enough of this.

Send me a copy of the deed without the least delay. Send one copy on Monday and another on Tuesday. Keep the deed itself until Forde⁹ is coming over for the Meath Election Petition. Be sure to state the witnesses' names at full length in each copy. The most material things are the names of the parties, the names of the witnesses, and the consideration stated in the deed.

I rely most strongly on your furnishing me with these materials at once. . . .

I think of nothing—I dream of nothing—I speak of nothing but the Petition.

Yours always, &c.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London : March 23rd, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—They have been on two wrong scents—the one, the Petition for a Commission which *cannot* be used; the second, the investigations into the solvency of the sureties after they have passed.

I will want money shortly. I have given about £130 towards the fees to counsel, and will have to give as much more next week.

There is one point I want you to exert yourself about. You recollect that it was by means of a communication through you from Lyons of Cork that I interposed for Sulli-

⁹ Wm. Forde, a pleasant attorney much esteemed by O'Connell, and familiarly styled 'Civil Bill Forde.'

van of Kilkenny, and saved him the expense of a contest.¹ Only just think of the fellow. My ballot is to be on Thursday. One vote may decide my fate. Well, off goes worthy Mr. Sullivan this fine morning, on private business, to Manchester. I have written after him, but, of course, in vain. Now you must set a watch on the Dublin hotels, and when he gets to Dublin let him know he has but one way of atoning for his treachery to me, and that is by being back here for the 30th, for Lord John Russell's motion.

Private business cannot be an excuse for the absence of a man who sought for, and, with my aid, forced himself on the constituency. Dominick Ronayne² also is absent. Well! well!! well!!!

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

London: 25th March, 1835.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I suffered much mental agony respecting the Elections and these Petitions, and still think that they are calculated, as they were intended certainly, to ruin me. But my mind has, thank God, recovered its tone and energy, and, having made all my preparations, and finished all preliminary arrangements, I await the result in perfect tranquillity, and, I hope, in entire submission. I had my first consultation of Counsel last night, and have put them into possession of my views of the defence. I am, therefore, enabled to promise that, as *one* of the Counsel, I will be able to do my business perhaps as coolly as if I was not myself concerned at all. I think I will be able to do my duty. Our Statement and lists of objections are made out completely, and everything now turns on the

¹ In 1835 Richard Sullivan had been re-elected M.P. for Kilkenny City, but in 1836 he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and Daniel O'Connell took his place.

² Dominick Ronayne was one of

O'Connell's Parliamentary body-guard, and distinguished himself besides as a writer of political lampoons. (Vide *Life of Dr. Doyle*, ii. pp. 380 *et seq.*)

persons who shall compose the Committee. If it be a Tory Committee they will refuse to do me justice; if I get a fair Committee I must succeed. All, therefore, depends on the Committee. In the selection of it there is nothing but pure chance—as fair a chance as can be, and as much chance as any casual incident in human life. I am quite resigned to the result. I am also resigned to the desertion of my defence by the Citizens of Dublin in point of pecuniary means. I have given another £100 for lawyers' fees, and will on Monday have to give a similar sum. If I am defeated I must look out for another seat. It can be procured by more than one voluntary resignation. I have more than a month to prepare for my son's Petition. By that time my mind will be disengaged altogether from my own affair. The great annoyance I feel from this Petition is that it absorbs my time from other matters.

It seems that there is no doubt but we will beat the Ministry heartily on Monday; and, indeed, I venture to believe that they will have resigned by this day week. Such expectations are strongly entertained, and even the triumph of last night will contribute, and does contribute, to their weakness.

Yours most sincerely,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

My dear FitzPatrick,—I deeply deplore your calamity, but recollect how frail we all are, and that submission to the will of God is our first duty.³

Blessed be His Holy Name! The Committee in my case is struck favourably. There are no less than eight Reformers to three Tories, so that beyond any reasonable doubt we shall succeed. This is the more important as it secures us the commission in Dublin. My mind is now altogether at ease. Dominick Ronayne⁴ arrived in time to

³ These passages refer to the sudden death of Hugh, only brother of P. V. FitzPatrick. He died unmarried on March 20, 1835, at Glas-

gow, aged thirty-three years.

⁴ Ronayne addressed his constituents periodically, and, while urging them to work for the redress of

be drawn on the general list, and so cost the enemy one of their challenges. I can write no more to-day. As far as politics can cheer you, here is a ray of hope.

Yours with the greatest truth,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

(Private.)

Friday, March 27, 1835.

My dear [Barrett] FitzPatrick,—I was going to write to Barrett, but recollected this was not his day. Nothing done in my Committee but changing lists.

The scoundrels are, I believe, in point of fact, *out certainly*—aye, *certainly* on the verge of being so. I had it from an intelligent Tory member, besides being confirmed by our friends. Blessed be the great God for this prospect! Before Tuesday evening you will hear of them being quite gone. It is joyful to think that the Iron rule of Orangeism is so nearly at an end. The division last night literally bothered the rulers of the Cabinet. The trimmers and waverers deserted them. Expect, therefore, the best of news. I would give a pound for an attested copy of Shaw's⁵ visage as he went just now into the House. I cannot describe my delight.

Ever yours,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To P. V. FitzPatrick.

[No date. Written during the progress of the Petition to unseat him member for Dublin.]

At the present moment my majority is reduced to twenty, and that principally by the non-payment of the

grievances, deprecated an appeal to arms. 'What about the pikes?' a voice exclaimed, which Ronayne feigned not to hear; but he had not proceeded far in his speech when 'Pikes' was again vociferated. 'You scoundrel!' he replied, 'you have been sent here to disturb a peaceful meeting, but you shall be baulked in your thirst for blood; and if there's no one else to give you to the police, I'll do so myself.' Ronayne

sprang from the platform and seized the disturber, but at last it appeared that the allusion was merely to turn-pikes, which fifty years ago were regarded as a grievance both in Ireland and Wales. O'Connell called Ronayne the 'tollman's terror' because he had gone from fair to fair preaching against tolls.

⁵ Right Hon. Frederick Shaw, M.P. for Trinity College, Dublin.

pipe-water for the year 1834. So that all this calamity comes upon us by the neglect of payment of the miserable pipe-water rent for which everybody gets value. Well, it cannot be helped; the expense to me is enormous. The Committee has now sat for nearly a month. Calculate £100 a day, and you will see what it comes to; but, of course, the month includes Sundays. I do not feel myself at liberty to concede one single vote or to compromise the right of any voter. I should prefer ruin to deserting those who voted for me. I therefore do not complain.

‘One day at this time I received a letter from O’Connell, asking me to call on —— or —— to know if they would be willing to give a large sum in hand for his Autobiography. They would only publish on the half-profit system, which failed to satisfy O’Connell’s expectations, and the matter dropped.’⁶

⁶ The late Carew O’Dwyer, M.P., to the editor, December 6, 1859.

APPENDIX.

THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

Mr. John Smith, of London, who had rendered important services to the Irish during the season of famine, received the following letter from O'Connell in 1825 :—

Merrion Square : January 11, 1825.

Sir,—Pursuant to a vote of the Catholic Association of Ireland, I have the honour to transmit to you £20 as a donation from that body to the 'Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty.'

The amount is small, but it strikes me that it derives an importance from the principle on which it was voted. It was voted by Catholics to maintain the rights of Protestant fellow-Christians, and upon the principle that conscience ought to be free, and that neither force nor fraud should be allowed to interpose to prevent the exercise of that faith which is conscientiously and sincerely believed.

I have always felt a pleasure in the assertion of this principle, and I am, indeed, delighted at the opportunity of communicating with you upon such a principle—with you, whose name is cherished with ardent affection by the people of Ireland. That fine people want, as is admitted, food and fire, clothing and hospitable dwellings—but they do not want kindly dispositions or generous sentiments ; and so long as human hearts can throb, or the human voice utter words, so long shall your name be repeated amongst us with affection and gratitude. Allow me to say, that there is not one who participates more strongly in those feelings than he who has the honour to be, etc.,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To Godfrey Massy,¹ Esq., of Ballinakill, County of Limerick.

Darrynane Abbey : September 24, 1832.

My dear Sir,—I had the honour to receive your letter of the 14th instant, and I confess it gave me singular pleasure. To find that the measure of all others most necessary to the welfare of Ireland—the Repeal of the Union—had found an advocate in a gentleman of your respectability, principles and connexions² gave me heartfelt delight. I am conscientiously convinced that it is utterly impossible to restore prosperity to Ireland, or to advance her agricultural and manufacturing interests without a domestic legislature. I am equally convinced that such a legislature can give safety and security to the rich, and employment, wages, and comfort to the poor. With these impressions on my mind, and devoted, as I trust I am, to the good of Old Ireland, your letter gave me heartfelt satisfaction. I wish now, for your sake, that I possessed more influence in your county. What I have shall be cordially and cheerfully at your service. The persecution instituted against you by the Anglesey Government alone entitles you to the support of the honest part of your countrymen—especially as that persecution originated in your constitutional and strictly legal exertions for the extinction of tithes. That odious impost will not long continue to burthen our agriculture—and whilst we respect vested rights, believe me that the government attack on you will go far to assist in destroying the abusive system now pressing on the people of all classes and persuasions. The union ought not to be repealed as a triumph for one part of the Irish nation over any other part of the Irish people. It is only in the combination of men who have differed upon other points as you and I have done, that valuable and useful success can be obtained. That for which I have ever sighed—that for which good men have long prayed—was that the day should arrive when men of various religious sentiments and of different politics should find a ground of national utility, common to them all, on which they could join and combine for the liberty and prosperity of their common and beloved country. In the Repeal question we have found that ground; and it becomes the good, the honest, the virtuous, the patriotic men of all parties to reach out the hand

¹ Mr. Hugh Massy had long previously represented the county Limerick, and in 1776 was created

a Peer.

² See page 307, *ante*.

of amity one to the other, and vow eternal fidelity to Ireland and Irish interests on this political altar of national, constitutional, and truly loyal independence. I offer you my hand, and my heart is in it—in the name of Ireland and for the restoration of her self-government. Ireland is, and ought to be, our first thought—the repeal of the union our first duty. I hail with delight this combination of Irishmen which you and I and our mutual friends will, I trust, exhibit. In the oblivion of past feuds, and in the cultivation of cordial conciliation and honest and sincere co-operation, does real Irish patriotism consist. I do, therefore, honestly and sincerely embrace your cause—I do honestly and sincerely desire your success—and I am ready to contribute to that success by any and every exertion in my power.

Your very faithful friend,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

To Edward Dwyer.

Darrynane Abbey: 11th September, 1834.

My dear Friend,—I perceive by the papers that Mr. Cobbett is on his way to visit Ireland. I wish we were able to give him a reception worthy of his talents and public services. He is really one of the most extraordinary men that the world ever saw. When one contemplates the station in society to which he has raised himself, and then looks back to his commencement in life as a labouring boy, enlisting as a private soldier, one knows not which most to admire—the value of that strong mixture of the democratic principle in British institutions which has allowed him to make such an advance, or the extraordinary and vigorous intellect that enabled him to overcome the many difficulties which a counteracting aristocracy have thrown in his way, and to become one of the most prominent and useful men now living.

He has, it is true, changed his opinions of men and things with sometimes unaccountable rapidity and violence; yet when we look at his astonishing literary labours—when we see that he has published the very best and most practically useful books of instruction—that he has written the most pure English of any writer of the present day, and has embraced, and illustrated, more

³ See page 504, *ante*.

topics of popular and sound politics than any other living or perhaps dead author—that even his errors and mistakes are brought forward with so much distinctness and fairness, that they also advance the cause of truth and justice, by stimulating to and requiring most attentive and considerate discussion. In short, take him for all in all, I am convinced that he is, of living men, one of the greatest benefactors of literature, liberty, and religion.

Aye, of religion—for his History of the Protestant Reformation in England has all the interest of a tale of mere invention, whilst there is not one allegation in it but what can be sustained by the most distinct evidence of contemporary and even adverse writers. . . .

I extremely regret that I cannot be in Dublin to meet him. You, my excellent friend, as Secretary to the late Catholic Association, must supply my place. You must get up a public dinner to entertain him, at which he may receive the respectful attentions of the sincere friends of civil and religious liberty in Dublin. As he goes through the country, he will, I doubt not, receive public testimonials of regard; and I hope he will go back convinced in his opinions that the people of Ireland do not deserve the cruel treatment they have received, and still continue to receive, from the British Government.

Do me the kindness to wait on him the moment of his arrival in Dublin, and hand him the letter I enclose, marked 'private.' I beg of you to enforce for me the request it contains, that he will come to visit this mountainous district.

Yours very faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

HOW TO TRANQUILLISE IRELAND.

To William Sharman Crawford, Esq.

Darrynane Abbey: 27th September, 1834.

My dear Sir,— . . . You and I are perfectly agreed that tranquillity is essential to the well-being of Ireland. But tranquillity itself must be an effect flowing from other causes, before it can become in its turn an efficient cause of prosperity. There are two modes of producing tranquillity; causing, however, quite different consequences, because, whilst the tranquillity produced by the one mode is full of every cheering hope, that produced by

the other is only the consummation of mischief and misery. I deal with the latter first. The mode of producing this species of quietude is by force, by violence, by—in short—*Coercion*; for that is the favourite word of modern tyrants. The kind of tranquillity thus produced is indeed

A death-like silence, and a dread repose.

The authors of it are properly described by the British chieftain, *Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*. This tranquillity is produced by suppressing complaints, by strengthening the oppressor's arm, by binding hand and foot the wretched victim of bad laws, and of worse ministers of these laws—by giving more power to the wrong-doer, and by overwhelming the sufferers from such wrong—by making iniquity triumphant, and leaving the objects thereof altogether defenceless. This is the tranquillity produced by Insurrection Acts, by Coercion Bills, by military license, by police slaughterings. It causes, to be sure, 'a death-like silence,' but it is only for a time. It creates a repose, but that repose is 'dread,' and awful, and above all things it is transitory. No man can rely on its continuance; no one confides in its duration. It resembles the slumberings of a volcano, tranquil for a time, only to burst forth with accumulated horrors and increased ruin. I write not of imaginary things. I do not draw upon my fancy for unreal sketchings. I tell by abstract propositions the story of Ireland. I draw no inferences. I simply write history—the history of Ireland. For seven hundred years these have been the means resorted to by our English rulers to tranquillise Ireland. These are, alas! the only means which they have to this hour, aye, ever up to this hour, employe to produce peace in this ill-fated land. They are, I do really believe, as ready to repeat the atrocious experiment as if seven hundred years of similar mis-rule had not proved that although the exhibition of discontent may be suppressed for a season, yet, that it, after a short pause, shows out again in renovated and increased rage, vigour, and wildness of revenge. Such is the first mode of producing tranquillity. Such is the only mode hitherto resorted to; and above all, observe, I pray you, such is the species of tranquillity produced by that mode.

There is another mode of rendering Ireland tranquil—a mode hitherto untried; but which assuredly ought to be tried, if it were for nothing else but for the sake of novelty. The second

and hitherto untried mode is by redressing all wrongs, by suppressing oppressions, by abolishing grievances, by correcting abuses, by discountenancing oppressors, by encouraging industry, by fostering agriculture and commerce, by having religion perfectly free. In a word, by doing justice to all the people of Ireland. This is the mode, my excellent friend, which you and I would adopt with a certainty of success. It is thus that we would produce that desirable tranquillity which, far from being the silence of hopeless slaves, would be the moral atmosphere of contented freemen. A tranquillity which would give leisure and opportunity, and furnish stimulants to the attainment of the highest degree of national and individual comfort and prosperity. Such is the tranquillity we desire, such is the amelioration of the social state which is the darling object of our honest ambition—a tranquillity which, in the deepest recesses of my conscience, I am convinced can be produced only under the tutelar care and protection of a domestic and parental legislature. But in the meantime let us give the enemies of Repeal no excuse. Let us point out to them the wrongs that require to be redressed, the grievances which require to be abolished. The most obvious and pressing of these is the Tithe System. Until the tithe system is abolished—totally abolished, not in name only, but in essence and in practical reality—Ireland cannot experience tranquillity. There is no tranquillity for Ireland until the tithe system is annihilated root and branch. There can be no compromise with it. *Delenda est Carthago*, should be our motto. The tithe system must be abolished by law, and for ever. . . .

Yours faithfully,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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